# AMERICAN JOURNAL OF PHILOLOGY.

VOL. III.

No. 11.

### I.—ON THE CULEX AND OTHER POEMS OF THE APPENDIX VERGILIANA.

The Culex, with the Ciris Dirae Moretum Copa and epigrams generally known as Catalecta, as well as the Aetna now usually ascribed to Lucilius, have recently been re-edited by Bährens in the second volume of his Poetae Latini Minores. This work marks a great advance on the Appendix Vergiliana of Ribbeck, published in 1867, and has suggested to me many new views on these poems, which, from their peculiarly intimate relation to those of Catullus, have at all times had an attraction for me much beyond their intrinsic merit. None of them have come down to us in a more corrupt state than the 'Gnat,' and it is therefore of some importance to record from time to time the readings of a Bodleian MS, Auct. F 1, 17, which here, as also in the Dirae (see Cambridge Journal of Philology, VIII 72), may be reckoned among the uninterpolated class, generally exhibiting a close resemblance to Bährens' B.

24-27.

Et tu cui meritis oritur fiducia cartis, Octaui uenerande, meis adlabere coeptis Sancte puer, tibi namque canit non pagina bellum Triste Iovis ponitque canit non pagina bellum Phlegra giganteo sparsa est quo sanguine tellus.

It is obvious that in 26 canit non pagina bellum has been erroneously repeated from the following verse. Ribbeck completed the lacuna by reading tibi namque humilis conamine primo, Bährens tibi namque sonant mea carmina, quamquam. Retaining

this in outline, I would change sonant to merent, which would repeat with emphasis the expression of 24 cui meritis, unnecessarily altered by B. to cuius monitis. The metaphor is natural enough to a Roman: the poem takes service under the banners of Octavius: ponitque, which has been altered to Rhoetique, Rhoecique, Coeique, Cottique, Phorcique, may after all be Pontique, for Poseidon took his part in the war with the Giants (Apollod. I 6, 2). I cannot agree with Ribbeck and Bährens in supposing the Octavius to whom the poem is addressed to be any one but the youth who became later Octavianus and Augustus; only so can the strong expressions Octavi uenerande, Sancte puer, which last occurs twice (26, 37), be adequately explained; this too gives a meaning to the elaborate invocation to Apollo, a god especially associated with the history of Augustus. It is not necessary to suppose the poem actually written to the young Octavius; for my own part I have never been able to regard it as anything but the composition of a later, but still early period, when the tradition that Virgil had written a Culex prompted some versifier to supply the required poem. Such a forger would naturally inscribe his Culex to Augustus, and as Virgil was supposed to have written it in boyhood, to Augustus still a boy. No one can, I suppose, read the verses eulogizing a country life (58 sqq.) and not feel certain that they are an imitation of the famous passage in Georg. II, O fortunatos nimium.

37, 8.

Haec tibi, sancte puer, memorabilis et tibi certet Gloria perpetuum lucens mansura per aeuum. Et tibi sede pia maneat locus, et tibi sospes Debita felicis memoretur vita per annos Grata bonis lucens.

It is surprising that Bähr. retains et in 37. It is not only weak, but cacophonous in view of the double et in 39. I would read:

Haec tibi, sancte puer, memorabimus: haec tibi restet Gloria, etc.

And what can B. find so absurd in the words Et tibi s. p. maneat locus? which he alters to Serum s. p. m. locus. Surely the poet, whose gnat finally rests in Elysium, might reasonably enough wish his patron the same good fortune; tibi with maneat as in Cat. VIII 15; Phil. II 5, 11.

55.

O bona pastoris si quis non pauperis usum Mente prius docta fastidiat et probet illis Omnia luxuriae spretis incognita curis.

In my Catullus of 1867 I conjectured that illi somnia had been corrupted into illis omnia, and suggested that the error arose from the two verses having at some time been written continuously. Subsequently I found that Haupt had conjectured somnia, leaving illis unchanged. I still prefer my original explanation of the corruption and venture to think that most critics will consider illi more elegant, as it is certainly on other grounds more probable than illis. 'Happy the shepherd's lot, should there be any who scorns not the employment of the poor and commends the dreams that proud life of luxury never knew, despising the cares that torture the covetous.'

57.

Haec teneras fruticum sentes rimatur, at illa Inminet in riui praestantis imaginis undam.

Here *imaginis* is usually supposed to be a corruption of *marginis*, wrongly, I fancy; at least none of the emendations which it necessitates in the rest of the verse can be considered very probable. On the other hand the goat might well be described as hanging over the water to look at her own reflected image, like the horse in a well-known fragment of Sophocles (593). Hence I would read *praesentis imaginis undam*, an image-presenting stream. The double genitive, the latter of quality, is not harsher than the double abl. in 153. So Spenser in his translation, 'The whiles another high doth overlooke Her owne like image in a christall brooke.'

89, 90.

Illi dulcis adest requies et pura uoluptas Libera simplicibus curis.

Rather duplicibus.

IOI.

Tendit ineuectus radios Hyperionis ardor, Lucidaque aethereo ponit discrimina mundo.

This strange word ineuectus, which is supposed to recur in 342:

Ne quisquam propriae fortunae munere diues Iret ineuectus caelum super

seems to raise no doubts in lexicographers, who explain it as 'mounted upon.' We must then suppose that in the first passage the sun's heat is described as mounted on its rays, tendit radios quibus inevectus est, and in the second that the rich man mounts on the chariot of his wealth above the sky. The first of these is undeniably harsh, and the word itself is spelt in Bährens' MS V in eicectus; while in 342 the Bodl. MS above alluded to (Mr. Macray, one of our best experts, dates it about 1230) gives euectus. In this passage indeed there are other signs of the traditional reading being wrong, for though the Bodl. MS (which I shall call F) like the others collated by Bähr. gives Iret, a Paris Anthology has Tendit, and it seems more than probable that Tenderet euectus is the right reading. But may not ineuectus in 101 be, as we should at first sight more readily believe (cf. inexcitus, inexhaustus, etc.), a negatival adj., 'not yet borne aloft,' i. e. to the highest part of the sky? We must then suppose the poet to mean that up to that time of the day the sun had not reached the zenith, and now begins to approach it and disperse his rays equally to both sides of the sky. This quite agrees with what immediately follows, 107 Iam medias operum partis euectus erat sol, which is a further step onwards, that part of the day when the sun had got beyond the zenith, at the hottest part of the afternoon. Still as V gives in eicectus and no authority is quoted but the Culex for ineuectus, it is possible that the right reading is in erectum, 'the sun stretches his rays in an upright line,' not slanting at an angle as at an earlier or later period of the day.

109.

Vt procul aspexit luco residere uirenti, Delia diua, tuo, quo quondam uicta furore Venit Nyctelium fugiens Cadmeis Agaue, Infandas scelerata manus et caede cruenta.

157.

Pastor ut ad fontem densa requiescit in umbra, Mitem concepit proiectus membra soporem.

Such I believe to be the real apodosis of *Vt procul*. With *quo quondam victa furore* begins a description of the grove, which continues for more than 50 lines, and thus disguises the fact that the sentence began with a protasis and remains incomplete. The nominative is accordingly resumed in *Pastor ut*. This will enable us to dispense with the changes suggested by Ribbeck, Bährens and earlier editors. Nor can I think that any alteration is required

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in 112, either Bembo's e or Ribbeck's very problematical ec: as abl. cruenta would be tautologous, as nom. 'gory with a deed of blood' it is Virgilian (Aen. I 475) and animated.

117.

Tantum non horridus Hebrum Restantem tenuit ripis siluasque canendo Quantum te per nigre morantem diua chorea Multa tuo laetae fundentes gaudia uultu.

For horridus or orridus in 117 is ordinarily printed (as in Pithou's Collection, p. 6, ed. 1590, and even by Ribbeck and Bährens) Orpheus, which is found only in one of B.'s MSS (V) as a first-hand reading, and can scarcely be right, whether on metrical or palaeographical grounds. It is quoted indeed by L. Müller (de r. m. p. 268) as a trisyllabic nominative with Orpheus in Cul. 269; but this was before the MSS had been accurately collated; and in 269 Orpheos as a genitive is rightly restored by Ribbeck. The nearest approach I can find to orridus is odrisis, and we might then suppose the Odrysian region to be substituted for the Odrisian bard, which is a mild, almost tame license in the poet, if compared with the parallel description in Seneca's Hercules Oetaeus, 1043 sqq., where Athos breaks part of its crags away with the Centaurs on them to come and stand near Rhodope, while Orpheus sings. If this should seem too bold, I would suggest Non tantum Oeagrius. V. 119 was emended by Haupt Quantum te, pernix, remorantur, diua, chorea, and pernix is actually written in V. But here again, as in 117, I hold the truer reading to be that of the other MSS, including F, and would read Quantum te pernice morantur, diva, chorea, by which the awkwardness of chorea as nom. followed by the plural laetae fundentes is obviated.

123, 4.

Nam primum prona surgebant valle patentes Aeriae †platanos, inter quas impia lotos.

So F; B has *platane* with *us* written over *e* in a more modern hand; V and several other MSS give *platani*. I should here, against Ribbeck, incline to regard *platanos* as the less corrupted reading, and, with Bembo, restore the rare but not incredible form *platanus*, which Neue seems to accept, Formenlehre I 536.

127.

At quibus tinsigni curru proiectus equorum Ambustus Phaethon luctu mutauerat artus Heliades. This is no place for styling Phaethon's chariot splendid; an obvious correction is *indigne*. So Ovid speaking of the Sun's anger at Phaethon's death says, M. II 400 Saeuit enim natumque obiectat et inputat illis.

131.

Posterius cui Demophoon aeterna reliquit Perfidiam †lamentandi mala perfide multis Perfide Demophoon et nunc †defende puellis.

Bährens is, I believe, right in reading *lamentanti*, as certainly wrong in his *i nunc defendeque vela*. It would be difficult to improve on Scaliger's *deflende*, which Ribbeck retains. 'Thou faithless Demophoon, to many a maiden faithless, aye still a memory to rouse their tears,' a pleasing and natural apostrophe to the oftrepeated story of Phyllis' betrayal.

137-9.

Hic magnum Argoae naui decus edita (so F with most MSS, adita V) pinus Proceros (Proceras, MSS) †decorat (decoras, F) siluas hirsuta per artus. Ac petit aeriis †contingere †montibus astra.

I can hardly think decorat right. Possibly superat. Montibus was corrected by Scaliger to motibus, a very weak word; by Heinsius to frondibus. Audacious as to some it will seem, I believe the right word is morsibus; for the successive growths by which the fir and pine are continually rising, a new apex marking the new growth, might not inaptly be described as so many bites in the air.

153.

Argutis et cuncta fremunt ardore cicadis.

Bährens, ingeniously, a rore. I doubt, however, whether the fact is so, and suggest stridore, the regular word for the peculiar sound of the cicada, Plin. XI 266 alia murmur edere, ut apis, alia cum tractu stridorem, ut cicadas, receptum enim duobus sub pectore cauis spiritum, mobili occursante membrana intus, attritu eius sonore.

166-8.

Obuia uibranti carpens grauis ore trilingui Squamosos late torquebat motibus orbes. †Tollebant aurae uenientis ad omnia uisust.

In ad omnia I think abdomina probably lurks. For aurae V has arte. Bährens reads Tendebant acres venientis ad omnia

uisus, which certainly gives a clearly defined picture of the restless eyes of the advancing snake; but seems to me, as Latin, a little strained; tendebant especially is hardly the right word, to say nothing of the fact that omnia several times marks a corruption, as in 217, 233, 242. Accepting nisus for uisus from Ribbeck I would read Tollebant acres(?) venienti abdomina nisus, the contortions of the snake in its progress cause the belly to be constantly lifted from the ground and exposed to view. Silius has nisu se concitat acri of a warrior, v. 235. Or can aurae conceal caudae? Haupt's Pallebant aura uementis gramina uiri is inexpressibly violent, and will, I should fancy, convince no one, a remark which extends to many of his alterations of the Culex, especially in reference to his introduction of elisions against the MSS and in violation of the laws observed by the poet. See Birt's careful examination, Halieut. p. 50.

In 177 Saepius arripiens should be retained, as a repeated darting at objects in the way would be natural in an enraged serpent; similarly spiritibus rumpit fauces is not to be changed into spiritus erumpit f. (Heinsius), the plural expresses the convulsive and continual motion of the hissing throat.

185, 6.

Qua diducta genas pandebant lumina gemmis Hac senioris erat nature pupula telo Icta leui.

Forbiger explains 'where the unclosed eyes laid open the lids to the pupil,' i. e. for the eye-ball to exert its function of seeing, supposing gemma to be another word for pupula. But no instance of such a meaning is quoted, and the resemblance of sound in genas gemmis, as well as the iteration pupula in 186 (Bährens alters this to palpebra), is suspicious. Possibly pennis 'to the gnat's wings,' i. e. to the approach of the whirring gnat. Nature is, of course, as Bothe saw, a mistake for mature, 'in time' to avoid the serpent's bite. I do not think palpebra is right; (1) it is not the MS reading; (2) the word seems only to occur in the plural and with the e long, Lucr. IV 952; (3) if the eyes are stated to have been unclosed, it was because the eye-ball, not the eye-lid, was stung by the gnat.

193-5.

Quam casus sociarit opem numenue deorum Prodere sit dubium, ualuit sed uincere tali Horrida squamosi uoluentia membra draconis. It is not necessary to change tali (V) into talis. Here tale is 'such a thing,' 'so slight a thing,' as omne is used for 'everything.' F with two of B.'s MSS has tales, which perhaps points to tale (nom.) as what the poet wrote.

198-201.

Et quod erat tardus somni languore remoto †Nescius aspiciens timor obcaecaverat artus Hoc minus implicuit dira formidine mentem Quem postquam uidit caesum languescere sedit.

Bährens is perhaps right in transposing 201 before 198, for 198-200 seem to explain sedit; the shepherd having killed the snake, instead of moving away at once from the scene of danger, sat down with less appearance of dismay than might have been expected, (1) et quod, because he was still drowsy from the sleep from which he had been suddenly awoke (remoto); (2) because the sudden alarm of the sight of the serpent had for a while paralyzed his limbs and made him unwilling to move. Hence for Nescius I would read Nec secus. Bährens' Quo plus seems to me too remote for the MSS, nor can I think his astringens for aspiciens probable. F has tonor for timor; but though Quintilian (I 5, 23) says tonor was an old form of tenor in the sense of accent, it can hardly mean anything like rigor or tension of the limbs, and must therefore, I think, be dismissed. There is, however, some weakness in timor, formidine in two consecutive lines. If aspiciens timor is thought, as perhaps it may be, too harsh, 'and similarly fear at the sight of the snake,' it would be easy to read ad speciem.

225-7.

Praemia sunt pietatis ubi, pietatis honores? In uanas abiere uices tet iure recessit Iustitiae prior illa fides.

For et iure, the reading of F and most MSS, V has uita, whence Bährens reads et uicta recessit Iustitia et (Schrader) prior illa fides. Is not et here somewhat weak? If V represents the true tradition, I should prefer euicta, 'driven out of its holdings, dispossest'; if the other MSS, perhaps abiere, a repetition corresponding to that of pietatis in 225.

239 sqq.

Terreor a tantis insistere, terreor, umbris. Ad Stygias reuocatus aquas uix ultimus amni Restat nectareas diuum qui prodidit escas Gutturis arenti reuolutus in omnia sensu. Qui saxum procul aduerso qui monte reuoluit Contempsisse dolor quem numina uincit acerbas Otia querentem frustra siblite puelle Ite quibus tedas accendit tristis Erinis Sicut himen prelata dedit conubia mortis.

In this difficult passage the poet recalls himself to the description of the infernal world: 'I shudder to dwell on such grim shadows, to return to the waters of Styx.' Hence Ad St. reuocatus aguas should be constructed with terreor, not with extat. At uix begins the description of Tantalus' punishment. Extat for Restat (Heinsius) is certain, which cannot be said of any emendation yet proposed for revolutus in omnia. We saw above that omnia is a frequent residue of error; in 217 it seems to represent moenia (Sillig); in 233 Quem circa tristes densentur in omnia (in omnua F) Poenae, it is, I believe, a mistake for ostia, as the Poenae would naturally gather at the door of Hell; in the line before us Ribbeck may be right in conjecturing inania, and if so, revolutus (which can hardly stand with revoluit in the next line) may be a mistake for relevatus, a word peculiarly appropriate to relief of hunger or thirst. Or is it possible that in omnia is here for insomnia? then resolutus may represent some active participle, reparans, renouans or the like. The next five verses I would write as follows:

> Quid saxum procul adverso qui monte reuoluit, Contempsisse dolor quem numina vincit acerbans, Otia quaerentem frustratibus? Ite puellae, Ite quibus taedas accendens tristis Erinys, Sicut Hymen, praefata dedit conubia mortis.

The reference is to Sisyphus and the Danaides. Acerbans is, I imagine, better than acerbus or acerba, and here again I find the Bodl. MS a reliable guide; acerbas is another instance of the suppressed n of the nomin. participle of which Corssen collects so many instances. Frustratibus is rare, but occurs in Plautus; it might aptly enough express the baffled attempts of Sisyphus to roll the stone to the top of the mountain. The allusion in the last two verses is to the deadly bridal of the Danaides, 'to whom the Fury, speaking the words of prelude, as it were Hymen (Cat. LXIV 382), assigned a bridal that was death.'

265, 6.

Ecce Ithaci coniunx semper decus Icariotis Femineum concepta decus manet.

Decus in 265 is generally altered to ducis, in consequence of decus in 266. But it is not certain that this is the right word there, for F has what looks like recus. May not this represent secus, sex? With this Bährens' consaepta would well agree.

274, 5.

Ecfossasque (Necfossasque MSS) domos ac tartara nocte cruenta Obsita, nec faciles ditis sine iudice sedes.

Ecfossas, not Defossas, is what MSS point to, 'homes dug out of the earth,' i. e. subterranean and dark. The form ecfodere is indubitable in Tacitus and Cicero as well as Plautus, as Lewis and Short show from Neue Formenl. II 767. Dictaeo (Bährens) is very plausible, yet sine must, I think, be genuine; perhaps, therefore, Dictae sine is what the poet wrote. There is too strong a tendency in editors to eliminate difficult negatives or words implying a negative. Thus in Heroid. XII 169, 170, Medea says Non mihi grata dies, noctes uigilantur amarae, Nec tener a misero pectore somnus abit, for so I would modify A. Palmer's conjecture, following the MSS, which would hardly have changed Nec into Et. Nec qualifies tener, 'and sleep, not the soft sleep of a happy lover, flies from me.' So in the passage of the Culex before us, nec extends both to faciles and sine iudice, 'and the abodes that smile not with Dicte's judge away,' i. e. 'the abodes where Dicte's judge is ever present to make them forbidding.' Cf. the remarks of Birt, Halieut. p. 49.

286-288.

294.

Haec eadem potuit Ditis te uincere coniunx Eurudicenque ultro ducendam reddere: non fas Non erat inuitam dire exorabile mortis.

'This same lyre had power to persuade thee, consort of Pluto, and to restore Eurydice unasked to be led away. But it might not be; to traverse the path of dreadful death was not to be won by entreaty.' I read then 'ire uiam. F, both here and in 268, has Erudice, in which I trace a vestige of the old spelling Eurudice.

Dignus amor venia †gratiam si Tartara nossent.

So F, gratum most MSS, as I incline to think, rightly. 'Gratitude,' viz. for Orpheus' devotion. Birt reads gratam, explaining of Proserpine, Halieut. p. 53.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Birt, Non fas, Non erat: Inuictae diuae exorabile numen. Halieut. p. 53-

295-303.

Peccatum meminisse graves tuos sede piorum Vos manet heroum contra manus, hic et uterque Aeacides, Peleus namque et Telamonia virtus Per secura patris laetantur numina, quorum Conubiis uenus et uirtus iniunxit honorem. Hunc rapuit ferit ast illum nereis amavit. Adsidet hac iuvenis sociat de gloria sortis Alter in excissum referens a navibus ignis Argolicis Phrygios turba feritate repulsos.

No passage of the Culex is more corrupt than this. I will give what appears to me the connexion of thought. 'Yet it were shame to remember Orpheus' sin: ye are both (Orpheus and Eurydice) destined to rest in Elysium with the heroes of old time. In Elysium are both the Aeacids Peleus and Telamon, rejoicing in the tranquil assurance of their father's divine power (Apollod. III 12, 15 τιμᾶται δὲ καὶ παρὰ Πλούτωνι τελευτήσας Αἰακὸς καὶ τὰς κλεῖς τοῦ "Αιδου φυλάττει), and in life raised by their prowess and the love they inspired to marriages of high consideration. Seated near is Ajax, associated with them by the allotment of destiny—Ajax of boldness unapproachable, telling how the Trojans were beaten back in confusion from the Greek ships which they would fain have set on fire.' The whole passage I would write thus:

Peccatum meminisse gravest (Bähr.): uos sede piorum Vos manet heroum contra manus. Hic et uterque Aeacides: Peleus namque et Telamonia virtus Per secura patris laetantur numina, quorum Conubiis uenus et uirtus iniunxit honorem. Hunc rapit Hesiona, ast illum Nereis amauit. Adsidet huic invenis, sociat quem (Bähr.) gloria sortis, Acer (Bemb.) inaccessum, referens a nauibus ignis Argolicis Phrygios turba trepidante repulsos.

The most doubtful point in these verses is the obviously corrupt feritast (feritas V) and again feritate (303). It is remarkable that feritatis recurs in 311 where it is undoubtedly right; but it cannot but be wrong I think in each of the former places. Bembo conjectured in 300 serva ast, Schrader Periboea, which Ribbeck and Bährens adopt. I greatly doubt the possibility of peribea becoming feritas; ast is thoroughly in its place in a contrast of this kind; in some forms of writing, Hesionast might easily be misread feritast; while to supply an exact parallel might be quoted Ovid M.

215 sqq. Nec pars militiae Telamon sine honore recessit, Hesione que data potitur. Nam coniuge Peleus Clarus erat diua. In the next verse Bährens seems right in recalling quem of H for de of F and most MSS, but I see no reason for changing sortis to sorti. For in excissum (excidium H, excelsum V) which Bähr. alters to in excessum, with very dubious meaning, I would write inaccessum, a rare word which easily became obscured; turba seems to be right, as Homer speaks of the confused scene which ensued when the Trojans were driven back from the attack on the ships, Il. XVI 294:

Ήμιδαὴς δ' ἄρα νηῦς λίπετ' αὐτόθι ' τοὶ δ' ἐφόβηθεν Τρῶες θεσπεσίω ὁμάδω. Δαναοὶ δ' ἐπέχυντο Νῆας ἀνὰ γλαφυράς ' ὅμαδος δ' ἀλίαστος ἐτύχθη.

And again, 367:

\*Ως τῶν ἐκ νηῶν γένετο ἰαχή τε φόβος τε, Οὐδὲ κατὰ μοῖραν πέραον πάλιν.

Besides, torua feritate is feeble, and everything points to the corruption lying not in turba, but feritate, for which V has feritare, H fremitante. What word these variants conceal is of course doubtful; trepidante is tolerably near and gives excellent sense.

304.

O quis non referat talis diuortia belli?

Dinortia is perhaps a translation of the Homeric πολέμοιο γεφύρας.

311, 312.

Ipsa uagis namque Ida potens feritatis et ipsa Ida faces altrix cupidis praebebat alumnis, Omnis ut in cineres Rhoetei litoris ora Classibus ambustis flamma lacrimante daretur.

Bembo wrote *iugis* for *uagis*, which Heinsius completed by writing frondentibus for feritatis et. But (1) the repetition of the two words ipsa Ida might well be accompanied by a connecting et; (2) potens or patens is an obvious corruption of parens which, retaining feritatis, will then be a translation of the Homeric  $\mu \dot{\eta} \tau \eta \rho \theta \eta \rho \hat{\omega} v$ . Hence uagis (uatis H) must conceal some accusative, possibly trabes, the material of spears. If flamma lacrimante is right, it can only mean an oozy flame such as is produced by pitch and similar resinous substances. My friend Mr. Shadworth Hodgson suggests lambente. In the difficult passage which follows this the word Tegminibus

can, I think, hardly represent *Ignibus hic*, but either *Fragminibus* or perhaps *Hic manibus*; for this last cf. Il. XV 716 Έκτωρ δὲ πρύμνηθεν ἐπεὶ λάβεν, οὐχὶ μεθίει Ἄφλαστον μετὰ χερσὶν ἔχων.

325, 6.

Rursus acerba fremunt Paris hunc quod letat et huius
Arma dolis Ithaci virtus quod concidit icta.

Arma surely cannot be Alma, for who would think of applying such an epithet to the valor of Ajax? Bährens suggests that Arma is a relic of two lost verses, in which the adjudication of the arms of Achilles to Ulysses and the subsequent death of Ajax were narrated. F omits the words after uirtus.

327-330.

Huic gerit auersos proles Laertia uultus Et iam Strymonii Rhesi victorque Dolonis Pallade tiam laetat r ouans, rursusque tremiscit Iam Ciconas iam que horret [atrox Laestrygonas ipse].

It is inconceivable that iam should be repeated four times so meaninglessly. Read Pallade laetabatur ouans, and cf. 50 sqq. tondebant, carpuntur, petuntur. The words after horret are omitted in F; so in 334 it omits Atrides after gener amplis (sic); in 340 it has only one word, Neque; in 362 it omits moritura metelli.

363, 4.

Curtius et mediis quem quondam sedibus urbis Deuotum †bellis consumpsit gurgitis unda.

For bellis a not improbable emendation is uiolens.

370, I.

Scipiadaeque duces, quorum deuota triumphis Moenia †rapidis Libycae Carthaginis horrent.

H gives *iapidis*. This suggests *lappis*, the burs or weeds which spring up on neglected sites, Virg. G. I 152. Haupt's *uepretis* conveys the same idea, but is farther from the MSS. *Sub* seems to have fallen out.

374, 5.

Et uastum Phlegethonta pati, quo, maxime Minos, Conscelerata pia discernis uincula sede.

'Phlegethon by which Minos separates the prison of the guilty from the abode of the blest.' I cannot see that *vincula* requires any change against all MSS.

399.

Et rosa purpureum crescent rubibunda terrorem.

So B; F has quiescant rubicunda; V pudibunda; H gives tenorem; C per orbem. The old reading crescens is to my mind made probable by the peculiar form it assumes in F; the whole line I would read

Et rosa purpureum crescens pudibunda per orbem,

'growing in the folds of a crimson disk.' *Per* denotes the gradual accretion of the petals into the full flower.

Dirae 83.

Tuque inimica tui semper discordia eiuis.

Bährens rightly calls tui meaningless; but boni is not so probable a restoration as pii. In Prop. III 13, 56 hospitio non, Polydore, pio most of the MSS have tuo; and in II 25, 31 Namque in amore suo semper sua maxima cuique Nescio quo pacto uerba nocere solent, the meaning is in favor of pio, a faithful love, as opposed to a wandering and shifting passion.

91, 3.

Tardius a miserae descendite monte capellae.

Mollia non iterum carpetis pabula nota.

Tuque resiste pater, †ea prima nouissima uobis†.

The general sense is clear; the she-goats and their male leader are leaving forever their browsing-ground. They are therefore told to linger and *crop their last meal*. Possibly then we should read *ea thymbra nouissima uobis*, 'that is the last meal of savory you will ever see,' or *cyma*, 'the last sprout.'

Lydia 14.

Membra reclinarit †teneremque illiserit herbam.

The Bodleian MS like most of Bährens' has tenerem (not teneram); H veneri. Hence I would read temere atque.

R. ELLIS.

#### II.—THE CREOLE PATOIS OF LOUISIANA.1

If, as we are told by Prof. Whitney in his Language and the Science of Language, no sound ever uttered by a human being can be a matter of indifference to the linguist and phonetician, what shall we say of a whole corner of the United States where not only a peculiar Romanic population live the most curious of lives, but where, along with this life and seemingly as one result of it, a whole series of interesting problems in linguistics is going on, the explanation of which throws much light on the processes that originate and modify dialects?

Louisiana was settled by the French under Bienville nearly two hundred years ago. A good many of the earlier settlers were Canadians, Acadians, refugees and immigrants from San Domingo and the West Indies, adventurers from the provinces of southern and western France-a medley of Romance-speaking races from every part of Mediterranean Europe, Spain, Portugal and the Superadded to these varied pigments we had Biscay regions. early in the last century a tint from Africa-large masses of Guinea and other negroes who settled thickly on the plantations and haciendas of riparian Louisiana, and soon produced important social, agrarian and linguistic changes in the speech, economy, life and civilization of the colony. These changes, gradual at first, have gone on perpetuating themselves down to the present day, until the parishes of Louisiana have a physiognomy as distinct as the isles of Greece.

Several ingenious etymologies have been suggested for the word *creole*, though most of them are either obelised or asterisked in the current lexicons. Littré, with his usual caution, tells us that the origin of the word is doubtful (Span. *criollo*, Ital. *creolo?*), that it may or may not come from *criar*, to rear, feed—an irregular formation; or that it may be a Carib word; or, lastly, that the guess of the Spanish Academy, that it was a word invented by the conquerors of the West Indies and handed down by them, may be true.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The author is indebted for many of the facts in this paper to Dr. Alfred Mercier, an accomplished physician of New Orleans, whose article in the Athénée Louisianais contributed materially to the ensuing discussion.

If we are not bewildered among so many alternatives, a glance into Skeat may contribute a little to the clarification of the subject.

The Cambridge professor tells us first that a *creole* is one born in the West Indies, but of European blood; and then he proceeds with agile pen—dashes, abbreviations, equation lines—to deduce the word, though with many misgivings, from the Span. *criollo*, a native of America or the West Indies; a corrupt word made by the negroes, said to be a contraction of *criadillo*, dimin. of *criado*, one educated, instructed or bred up, pp. of *criar*, lit. to create, also to nurse, instruct; hence the sense 'little nurseling.'

Victor Hugo uses the word boldly in the line:

Un noir où luisaient des regards de créole.

Whatever may be the ultimate source of the word, everybody who has ever visited Louisiana knows what the thing is—the femme créole, the quite inexpressible expressiveness of the verb créoliser, and the fundamental changes undergone by a European or American temperament when the pp. créolisé once becomes applicable to it.

The notable differentia of the Creole patois is that it is a dialect that has sprung up almost entirely by the ear. Illiterate white folk and Africans of the purest blood, catching by ear the more or less indistinct utterances of the landed and commercial aristocracy around them, have reproduced in their own way, otographically, so to speak, the message delivered to their far from fastidious sensorium, producing a dialect resembling French in a fashion that suggests the relation between the Æthiopica of Uncle Remus and current English. Innumerable instances of what Haldeman called otosis (Outlines of Etymology, 30) are the result-word-jumbles, half heard or entirely misunderstood, reproduced in a very singular way as the very staple and foundation of every-day indispensable speech.1 The thick lips—the aural myopia—not of one, but of tens of thousands of individuals to whom the term Βοιωτίαν τν is not far from applicable—a Boeotianism only paralleled by that of the editors who in certain MSS of Cicero insist on changing consules to asinos-gave birth to these winged Ethiopianisms, the delight of the French quarter of New Orleans and the nursery babble of countless Creole homes. The Franco-Louisianais still

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cf. 'sapsago' cheese, mispronounced from German 'schabzieger,' the 'Picket Wire' river of Colorado, from *Purgatoire*, etc.

number several hundred thousands. The whites of this class are still surrounded by negroes, with whom they communicate in a Pigeon French curiously resembling the English of the Chinese seas. The Creole children, entrusted from infancy to the care of negro mamans, learn the patois before they learn the regular French, just as the children in deaf-and-dumb asylums talk glibly with their fingers-dactylically-before they have mastered the intricacies of lingual speech. All the petits blancs or 'poor white trash' of the urban and plantation population speak the same patois simultaneously with the French. In many households full of intelligent boys and girls, the patois is often spoken exclusively till the children are ten or twelve years of age. By that time their organs-larynx, speech-chords, pharynx, uvula-are so habituated to the drawling utterance of the kitchen and scullery that they chant rather than speak the cultivated French-a noticeable characteristic of Louisiana as it is of the dialects of the south of France, of Catalonia, and of parts of Italy.

As a general rule those who speak the patois of the parishes are able to speak pure French also. Address any négrillon in good French and it is a point of honor with him to reply in the same. The aboriginal language of the French negro has almost totally disappeared in the South, leaving behind hardly a dozen words of African origin.<sup>1</sup>

The French negro of Louisiana is endowed with a cunning set of wits; his auditory nerve, while not acute, enables him to pick up certain word-fragments and débris of conjugation which he adapts to his purposes and weaves into an ingenious and intelligible scheme highly interesting psychologically.

Note for instance how he goes to work with his verb. To his consciousness, as often to the Hebrew's, a copula is a mere pleonasm: he needs no bridge to slip from subject to predicate, but gathering up his linguistic skirts he leaps agilely across and says: *Mo contan* (je suis content). The pronoun is virtually his pres. tense ind. as well as his infinitive.

The progressive forms which we represent by the verb to be and a part. pres. he represents thus: He is dining  $= lap \ell \ dinin$ , i. e., li (lui)  $ap \ell$  (après) dinin (dîner). In every case, seizing the emphatic disjunctive form of the pronoun as capable of a strong accent (lui, moi, toi, etc.), he adds it to the prep. apr r s (abbre-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> See Thomas's Theory and Practice of Creole Grammar, p. 19, for many interesting examples of Creole and African words at the Port-of-Spain.

viated to  $ap\ell$ ) followed by an inf. There is no copula. Hence the paradigm:

 $\left. egin{array}{ll} {
m Map\'e} \\ {
m Tap\'e} \\ {
m Lap\'e} \end{array} \right\} \, {
m dinin.} \qquad \left. egin{array}{ll} {
m Nap\'e} \\ {
m Vap\'e} \\ {
m Yap\'e} \end{array} \right\} \, {
m dinin.}$ 

Resolved, these forms become  $mo \pmod{+ap\ell}$ ;  $to \pmod{+ap\ell}$ ;  $li \pmod{+ap\ell}$ ;  $nou \pmod{+ap\ell}$ ;  $vou \pmod{+ap\ell}$ ;  $vou \pmod{+ap\ell}$ ;  $vou \pmod{+ap\ell}$ . So, mo, to, li, malade; vou, nou, yé malade.

The prep. apé is quite indispensable to the Creole dialect (as after is to the Irish). The use of it is now an archaism in France, though it is constantly heard in Canada, where the patois has a very remarkable resemblance to the dialect of Louisiana. Cf. the Canadian je suis après écrire, après m'habiller, etc., phrases which excite the righteous indignation of the authors of locutions vicieuses.

The forms  $Map \ell$ , etc., show that the Creole has reduced his pronoun-prefix to a single letter, as the descendants of the Aryans did the suffixes of their verb. Nou, vou, as heard by the illiterate and the negro, have no s; hence none appears in the combination  $nap \ell$ , etc.; while ils, eux, have attracted a parasitic y like the y-sound in useless, university, or in the Anglo-Saxon vowel-sounds ea, eo, etc. Cf. Fch. lierre, lendemain, etc., for a loose analogy.

The frequent use of the imperf. tense ¿tais made an early and profound impression on the ear of the negro; chiefly, however, the syllable that had the stress, ½ (-'tais). This sound, occurring throughout the French tense, stuck indelible roots in his memory, and came to symbolize to him nearly all of what he knew of the past. Agglutinating it without trouble to his pronoun-scheme, he produced the following characteristic model:

Moté—j'étais Nouté—nous étions Toté—tu étais Vouté—vous étiez Lité—il était Yété—ils étaient.

Nearly all the other shades, intricacies, delicacies of conjugation in the past were swallowed up in this simple and frequent form. The Creole after all follows rigorously the genius of his language, and, picking out of the syllabic *misch-masch* that germinal accented syllable which the cultivated French itself did when gathering its vocables from the Latin, he throws his whole soul into that. Compare for illustration the manner in which Canadian blasphemers have treated the word *sacré*: (s)*acré* fou; (sa)*cré* tête croche;

cré y' (= sacré Dieu); (sac)ré enfant tannant; (sacr)é innocent! é visage! (sacr)és z'enfants tannants! etc.

As for the Creole's representation of the indefinite pret. tense it is very simple: he uses the inf. preceded by a noun or pronoun. Thus: la nouite *vini*, li *soupé* (la nuit vint, il soupa). The same form is attached to any person, and the result is a convenient hobby-horse which may be ridden in any number or person without change.

With the tenses of the future and conditional he goes to work no less ingeniously. The great sign of the Creole fut. is the third pers. sing. pres. ind. of the verb aller, va, which the native hears frequently from the lips of the people around him; as, Gro stimbotte-là pa capab décende can dolo va basse (= gros steamboat-là n'est pas capable de descendre quand l'eau va basse). This useful monosyllable va is then prefixed to any given infinitive, while the noun or pronoun required by the context introduces the whole complex. Thus:

$$\left. \begin{array}{l} Mo-nou \\ To-vou \\ Li-ye \end{array} \right\}$$
 va chanté (va chanter).

This, however, is the primitive future of the Creole verb. Agglutination takes place without delay, and we have: mova, tova, liva, nouva, vouva, yéva, chantí; and the next result of vowel and consonant submergence and disappearance is:

Further abbreviation and wearing-down take place, leaving behind a colorless a; as, Tan bel zordi, zozo a chanté plice pacé ier (= temps bel aujourd'hui, les oiseaux vont chanter plus passant hier); ouzote a galopé dice foi cate narpan (= vous autres galoperez dix fois quatre arpents).

For the imperative the inf. is again called into play in a way paralleled by many ancient and modern languages; e. g., Jule vini avé vou (= que Jules vienne avec vous); to vini dimin (= viens demain). Cf. the usage in Greek, in French advertisements and physician's prescriptions, and in colloquial German (da bleiben! etc.). See also Chanson de Roland, ll. 1113 and 2337 (Gautier's ed.) The Creole imperative first pers. plu. calls in the help of

the verb aller, viz. allons, pronounced anon. (Similar substitutions of one letter for another occur in the Canadian aiduille, ékui, amikié = aiguille, étui, amitié. Cf. tloud, tlamp for cloud, clamp.) Hence, Anon traversé larue cila (= traversons cette rue); anon boi, anon dromi, anon coude (= buvons, dormons, cousons).

The inf. has been truly called the Creole's anchor of salvation, as it is of the speakers of the *lingua franca* of the Mediterranean (see Molière's *Bourgeois Gentilhomme*). He clings to it with almost passionate attachment and makes it serve many a useful purpose. Nothing shows this more curiously than his use of it in the evolution of the conditional.

Just as, in listening to conversations having reference to time past, his ear was constantly struck by the sound  $t\ell$  (étais), so in listening to discussions of doubtful, contingent, hypothetical import he is struck by the sound  $sr\ell$  (serait, chasserait, etc.), which to him involves the whole of contingent possibility. He seizes the sound  $sr\ell$  with characteristic eagerness, prefixes to it his noun or pronoun and then suffixes the infinitive, thus evolving a triumphant conditional admirably suited to his simple purposes. Thus, Mo  $sr\ell$  fumin si mo  $sr\ell$  gagnin taba (= Je fumerais si j'avais du tabac); si  $sr\ell$  fé pli frette, bécassine  $sr\ell$  dija rivé (= s'il faisait plus froid, les bécassines seraient déjà arrivées.

More curious even than this is the genesis of the perfect conditional. To arrive at this subtle and important distinction, which many cultivated languages have failed to grasp (cf. the early Germanic and other dialects), the Creole takes his particle of past time  $t\acute{e}$  and combines it with his particle of conditionality  $sr\acute{e}$ . Thus, Ier mo  $t\acute{e}$   $sr\acute{e}$  couri à la chache si  $t\acute{e}$   $sr\acute{e}$  pa fé si tan cho (= hier je serais allé à la chasse s'il n'avait pas fait si chaud). Cf. the Modern Greek use of the particle  $\theta \acute{a}$  ( $\theta \acute{e} \lambda \epsilon \iota$ ?) to form the future. The gerundial relation with en is expressed in Creole by a circumlocution with  $apr\grave{e}s$  + the infinitive. Thus, Ta pranne la fiev' apé joué lontan dan soleil (= tu vas prendre la fièvre  $apr\grave{e}s$  jouer longtemps au soleil).

In many of these examples the simplification of the negative will be noted, the real neg. ne being dropped and the complementary particle pas being retained. The same peculiarity occurs in Canadian and in colloquial Parisian and other French dialects: li pa peur (= il n'a pas peur). The speaking directness of the Louisiana dialect is seen in the economy of effort which is one of its marks: Mo comancé lasse; mo cré tan nou tournin; mo lé di

Madame vou la (= je commence à être fatigué; je crois qu'il est temps de nous en retourner; je vais dire à Madame que vous êtes là). Prepositions, conjunctions, copula, non-essential or indeterminate words are cast overboard as useless baggage despite the  $\pi\lambda\alpha\tau\dot{v}s$   $\gamma\dot{\epsilon}\lambda\omega s$  of the Olympic audience.

The increasing nasalization going on in cultivated French is very obvious in Creole, where a nasal desinence attaches itself unpleasantly to the pronouns (moin, toin, etc.) and infinitives (gagnin, fumin, etc.) The intrusion of the nasal is clearly marked in Canadian also, where whole classes of words insert it (anpauvrir for appauvrir, anbandonner, angencer, anvaler, ampât, anvoisiner, etc.), giving rise to an intolerable twang. Sweet (Phonetics, p. 8) thinks the nasalization of English in this country and in the cockney dialect is due to the pronunciation of the vowels with imperfect closure of the nose passage.

The word capab in one of our examples suggests another Creole peculiarity—Canadian also: the systematic ignoring of the trill *l*, which gives rise to such examples as admirabe, aimabe, diabe, etc., and Adof for Adolph. In certain Canadian words, on the other hand, there is an interloping *l* or an *l* substituted for *r* or *t*, etc.: a/tère for artère, a/térage for atterrage, a/éner for agneler, etc. The transposition of dormir into dromi is paralleled in many languages, but for the present purpose the Canadian apocalyspe for apocalypse (cf. lisp from lips, etc.) may suffice.

The Creole in his corruptions of words is often enigmatically concise, almost as much so indeed as the Canadian when he corrupts the Eng. Happy New Year! into Apénouyir: on va fêter l'apénouyir or l'apinouyir. Agglutinations of the article with a noun abound in the patois of Louisiana. The petit blanc, in certain instances, hears the article associated with the noun; it strikes him as a sort of inseparable prefix to which he clings on most occasions, even when the word is otherwise modified. Thus, larue (la rue), ain (une) larue; mo labouche (ma la bouche). Inquire of a négrillon what bell it is that rings at a certain hour. His answer may be: Cé segon lacloche. So the Creole cuisinière inquires: Ki lasoupe vou oulé? lasoupe bef ou lasoupe cribiche? (quelle soupe voulez-vous? soupe au bœuf ou soupe aux écrevisses?)

Not content with this, the Creole plays strange tricks with his plurals, for in certain cases he associates the plural article with a noun in the singular: un os is, in Creole, ain dézo; un œuf is ain dézef; probably from the continual association of the partitive

article with such common objects as bones and eggs.  $D\acute{e}zo$  mo bra apé fé moin mal (l'os de mon bras me fait mal); vou poul té pondi ain  $d\acute{e}zef$  dan mo jardin (votre poule a pondu un œuf dans mon jardin).

Specimens of transpositions are seen in the following colloquialisms: Can mo rivé, lié té encore apé *dromi* (quand j'arrivai, il *dormait* encore); mamzel apé coude en la *garlie* (mademoiselle coud

sur la galerie), etc.

The constant omission of the gen. sign de—not with proper names only—is a characteristic of Creole and has parallelisms enough in Old French (see Bartsch's Chrestomathie for countless examples). As a matter of course, however, it seems pure carelessness on the part of the Creole, while in Old French there was a strong consciousness of the Latin gen. Cf. the Middle Eng. treatment of the words manner, kind, sort, with appositional substantives following.

A curious parallelism between certain Creole locutions and Homeric Greek has been pointed out: e. g. li parti couri (il partit courir, il s'en alla) and  $\beta\hat{\eta}$  δ'  $\tilde{\iota}_{\mu}\epsilon_{\nu}$ ,  $\beta\grave{a}_{\nu}$  δ'  $\tilde{\iota}'\epsilon_{\nu}a_{\iota}$ ,  $\beta\hat{\eta}$  δè  $\theta\acute{\epsilon}\epsilon_{\nu}a_{\iota}$ . A similar usage was widespread in Anglo-Saxon, as in Beówulf I, l. 26–27:

Him thâ Scyld gewât tô gescäp-hwîle fela-hrôr fêran on freán wäre, etc.

Cf. the Germ. spazieren gehen, reiten, fahren, etc.

A form of the possessive peculiar to the Creole is believed to be an importation brought into Louisiana by *émigrés* from San Domingo: *e. g.* ziés à moin (mes yeux), tchor à li (son cœur). The Canadian vulgarism, "la fête à maınan, le chapeau à ma sœur, is of a piece with this. *Tchor* for *cœur* might be compared with the Frisian palatalization of the gutteral k: cf. original Frisian kerke, church, which appears as *tsuirke*, *sthereke*, *skirurke*, etc. (Hewett's Frisian Lang. p. 41).

Many philologists have noted the felicitous aidionities of Uncle Remus in the negro dialect of the South. The Creole lends itself no less felicitously to the récit and to the conte, as we may say on good authority. The fables of La Fontaine and Perrin and the Gospel of St. John have, indeed, been translated into the dialect of San Domingo or Martinique; lately we have had a Greek plenipotentiary turning Dante into the idiom of New Hellas: what next? Any one who has seen the delightful Chansons Canadiennes of M. Ernest Gagnon (Quebec, 1880) knows what pleasant things

may spring from the naïve consciousness of the people. The Creole of Louisiana lends itself admirably to those petits poimes, those simple little dramatic tales, compositions, improvisations, which, shunning the regions of abstraction and metaphysics, recount the experiences of a story-teller, put into striking and pregnant syllabuses the memorabilia of some simple life, or sum up in pointed monosyllables the humor of plantation anecdote. Interesting examples of the patois occur in the romances of G. W. Cable, though they are transliterated with far less delicacy than in the work of Dr. Mercier, L'Habitation Saint-Ybars (Nouvelle-Orléans, 1881).

As eccentricities in the domain of phonology may be mentioned the disappearance of the letter  $r^1$  in Creole; apé for après, di for dire, cate for quatre; exactly paralleled in numerous instances by the patois of Canada (cf. Can. i' pa'lent = ils parlent). U, as in Junon, becomes i (Jinon), jige, jigemen' (Cable's zizement), dipi (depuis), Can. p'is; compare sich, jist. In many instances u has been diphthongated into ou: nouite (nuit, with prolonged t, as in Can. drette for droit, Creole frette for froid); tou souite (tout de suite). The sound eu is changed into air: l'honneur = lonair, or even into i and  $i\ell$ , as in Michié = Monsieur. Cf. the Can. conversion of u into eu: breune, breume, pleumes, preunes. The Creole has a lingual trouble in the pronunciation of ja, jou,  $g\ell$  combinations; he slips easily into the flat sibilant z, as easily as some German dialects flatten s into sz: e. g. jalon, toujours, manger, become zalon, touzou, manzé; banjo becomes banza, etc. Aphaeresis is one of his favorite processes, 'blié = oublié, 'pélé = appelé, 'baracé = embarrassé, 'tite = petite, 'sieur = monsieur. same clipping is common among the habitants of Canada.

As a specimen of the phonetic and syntactical processes and of the humorous capabilities of the Creole dialect, I reprint the following *Conte Nègre* after Dr. Mercier, inserting a literal interlinear version to give a clue to the meaning.

#### MARIAGE MLLE. CALINDA.

- Dan tan lé zote foi, compair Chivreil avé compair Dans temps les autres fois, compère Chevreuil avec compère
- Torti té tou lé dé apé fé lamou à Mamzel Calinda.
   Tortue étaient tous les deux après faire l'amour à Mademoiselle Calinda.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> See Sievers' *Phonetik*, p. 212, for interesting observations on *Einschiebung* u. Ausstossung v. Consonanten.

- 3. Mamzel Calinda té linmin mié compair Chivreil, cofair Mlle. Calinda avait aimé mieux compère Chevreuil, [pour]quoi faire
- li pli vaïan; mé li té linmin compair Torti oucite, le plus vaillant; mais elle avait aimé compère Tortue aussi,
- 5. li si tan gagnin bon tchor! Popa Mamzel Calinda di li: il si tant gagner bon cœur! Papa Mlle. Calinda dire lui:
- "Mo fie, li tan to maïe; fo to soizi cila to oulé." Landimin,
   "Ma fille, il (est) temps te marier; faut te choisir cela tu voulez." Lendemain.
- compair Chivreil avé compair Torti rivé tou yé dé coté Mlle. C. compère Chevreuil avec compère Tortue arriver tous eux de côté Mlle. C.
- Mamzel C., qui té zonglé tou la nouite, di yé: "Michié Chivreil avé Mlle. C., qui avait songé toute la nuit, dire eux: "Monsieur Chevreuil avec
- Michié Torti, mo popa oulé mo maïe. Mo pa oulé di ain Monsieur Tortue, mon papa vouloir me marier. Moi pas vouloir dire un
- 10. dan ouzote non. Ouzote a galopé ain lacourse dice foi cate dans vous autres non. Vous autres va galopper une la course dix fois quatre
- 11. narpan; cila qui sorti divan, ma maïe avé li. Apé dimin arpents; cela qui sortir devant, moi va marier avec lui. Après demain
- 12. dimance, ouzote a galopé." Yé parti couri, compair Chivreil dimanche, vous autres va galopper." Eux partir courir, compère Chevreuil
- 13. zo tchor contan; compair Torti apé zonglé li-minme : son cœur content; compère Tortue après songer lui-même :
- 14. "Dan tan pacé, mo granpopa bate compair Lapin pou "Dans temps passé, mon grandpapa battre compère Lapin pour
- 15. galopé. Pa conin coman ma fé pou bate compair Chivreil." galopper. Pas conner (= connaître) comment moi va faire pour battre compère Chevreuil."
- 16. Dan tan cila, navé ain vié, vié cocodri qui té gagnin Dans temps cela en avait un vieux, vieux crocodile qui avait gagné
- 17. plice pacé cincante di zan. Li té si malin, yé té pélé li plus passé cinquante dix ans. Lui était si malin, eux avaient appelé lui
- compair Zavoca. La nouite vini, compair Torti couri trouvé compère Avocat. La nuit venir, compère Tortue courir trouver
- compair Zavoca, é conté li coman li baracé pou so compère Avocat, et conter lui comment lui embarrasser pour sa
- 20. lacourse. Compair Zavoca di compair Torti: "Mo ben la course. Compère Avocat dire compère Tortue: "Moi bien
- oulé idé toi, mo gaçon; nou proce minme famie; la tair vouloir aider toi, mon garçon; nous proche même famille; la terre
- 22. avé do lo minme kichoge pou nizote. Mo zonglé zafair avec de l'eau même quelquechose pour nous autres. Moi va songer cette affaire
- 23. To vini dimin bon matin; ma di toi qui pou fé."

  Toi venir demain bon matin; moi va dire toi que pour faire."

- 24. Compair Torti couri coucé; mé li pas dromi boucou, Compère Tortue courir coucher; mais lui pas dormir beaucoup,
- 25. li té si tan tracassé. Bon matin li parti couri lui était si tant tracassé. Bon matin lui partir courir
- 26. coté compair Zavoca. Compair Zavoca dija diboute apé côté compère Avocat. Compère Avocat déjà debout après
- 27. boi so café. "Bonzou, Michié Zavoca." "Bouzou, mo boire son café. "Bonjour, Monsieur Avocat." "Bonjour, mon
- 28. gaçon. Zafair cila donne moin boucou traca; min mo garçon. Cette affaire cela donne moi beaucoup tracas; mais moi
- 29. cré ta bate compair Chivreil, si to fé mékié ma di toi. crois toi va battre compère Chevreuil, si toi fais métier moi va dire toi.
- 30. "Vouzote a pranne jige jordi pou misiré chimin au ra
  "Vous autres va prendre juge aujourd'hui pour mesurer chemin au ras
- bayou; chac cate narpan mété jalon. Compair Chivreil a bayou; chaque quatre arpents mettez jalon. Compère Chevreuil va
- 32. galopé on la tair; toi, ta galopé dan dolo. To ben compranne galopper en la terre; toi, tu va galopper dans de l'eau. Toi bien comprendre
- 33. ça mo di toi?" "O, oui, compair Zavoca, mo ben cela moi dire toi?" "O, oui, compère Avocat, moi bien
- 34. couté tou ça vapé di." "A soua, can la nouite vini, écouter tout cela vous après dire." "Le soir, quand la nuit venir,
- 35. ta couri pranne nef dan to zami, é ta caché aine dan toi va courir prendre neuf dans tes amis, et toi va cacher un dans
- 36. zerb au ra chakène zalon yé. Toi, ta couri caché au ra herbe au ras chacun jalon eux. Toi, toi va courir cacher au ras
- 37. la mison Mamzel Calinda. To ben compranne ça mo di toi?" la maison Mlle. Calinda. Toi bien comprendre cela moi dire toi?"
- 38. "O, oui, compair Zavoca, mo tou compranne mékié ça vou "O, oui, compère Avocat, moi tout comprendre métier cela vous
- 39. di." "Eben! couri paré pou sové lonnair nou nachion." dire." "Eh bien! courir préparer pour sauver l'honneur notre nation."
- 40. Compair Torti couri coté compair Chivreil é rangé tou Compère Tortue courir côté compère Chevreuil et arranger tout
- kichoge compair Zavoca di li. Compair Chivreil si tan sire quelquechose compère Avocat dire lui. Compère Chevreuil si tant sûr
- gagnin lacourse, li di oui tou ça compair Torti oulé.
   gagner la course, lui dire oui tout cela compère Tortue vouloir.
- 43. Landimin bon matin, tou zabitan semblé pou oua Lendemain bon matin, tous habitants assembler pour voir
- 44. gran lacourse. Can lhair rivé, compair Chivreil avé grande la course. Quand l'heure arriver, compère Chevreuil avec
- 45. compair Torti tou lé dé paré. Jige la crié: "Go!" é yé compère Tortue tous les deux préparés. Juge là crier: "Go!" et eux
- 46. parti galopé. Tan compair Chivreil rivé coté primié partir galopper. Temps compère Chevreuil arriver côté premier

- 47. zalon, li hélé: "Halo, compair Torti!" "Mo la, compair jalon, lui héler: "Halo, compère Tortue!" "Moi la, compère
- 48. Chivreil!" Tan yé rivé dézième zalon, compair Chivreil Chevreuil!" Temps eux arriver deuxième jalon, compère Chevreuil
- 49. sifflé: "Fioute!" Compair Torti réponne: "Croak!" Troisième siffler: "Fioute!" Compère Tortue répondre: "Croak!" Troisième
- 50. zalon bouté, compair Torti tink-à-tink avé compair jalon au bout, compère Tortue tingue-à-tingue avec compère
- Chivreil. "Diâbe! Torti la galopé pli vite Chevreuil. "Diable! Tortue là galopper plus vite
- 52. pacé stimbotte; fo mo grouyé mo cor." Tan compair passé steamboat; faut moi grouiller mon corps." Temps compère
- 53. Chivreil rivé coté névième zalon, li oua compair Torti Chevreuil arriver côté neuvième jalon, lui voir compère Tortue
- 54. apé patchiou dan dolo. Li mété tou so laforce après patchiou! dans de l'eau. Lui mettre toute sa la force
- 55. dihior pou aren; avan li rivé coté bite, li tendé dehors pour rien; avant lui arriver côté but, lui entendre
- 56. tou monne apé hélé: "Houra! houra! pou compair Torti!"
  tout monde après héler: "Houra! houra! pour compère Tortue!"
- 57. Tan li rivé, li oua compair Torti on la garlie apé Temps lui arriver, lui voir compère Tortue en la galerie après
- brassé Mamzel Calinda. Ça fé li si tan mal, li embrasser Mlle. Calinda. Cela faire lui si tant mal, lui
- 59. sapé dan boi. Compair Torti maïé avé Mamzel Calinda s'échapper dans bois. Compère Tortue marier avec Mlle. Calinda
- 60. samedi apé vini, é tou monne manzé, boi, jika samedi après venir, et tout monde manger, boire jusqu'à
- 61. y tchiak. 1 eux griser.

J. A. HARRISON.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Tchiak is the name given by the Creole negroes to the starling, which, Dr. Mercier tells me, is applied adjectively to express various states of spirituous exhilaration.

## III.—ON THE ENGLISH PERFECT PARTICIPLE USED INFINITIVALLY.

"As in olde feldes cornes freshe and grene grewe, So of olde bookes commeth our cunnyng newe."

JOHN HARDYNG.

"At this time," writes Dr. Thomas Fuller, "began the troubles in the Low Countreys, about matters of religion, heightned between two opposite parties, Remonstrants and Contra-remonstrants," tet. Quoting these words, Dr. Peter Heylin objects: "Not at this time, viz., 1618, which our author speaks of, but some years before. They were now come unto their height," etc. Fuller thereto replies: "A causlesse cavil. I said not, absolutely, they now began, but now they began heightned. The animadvertor

<sup>3</sup> Not at all so; Heylin's stricture being on an historical statement only, and not on Fuller's way of putting it. Fuller has it that the "troubles" were nearing their acme in 1618; Heylin, that they had then reached their acme. While encountering an objection which had not been raised, Fuller says not a word about his extraordinary disjunction of "began" and "heightned."

<sup>4</sup> In the English of literature, despite Dr. Henry More, Milton, and others, even gin, governing, as it generally did, another verb without the intervention of to, had become antiquated some time before Fuller's day; and begin, similarly constructed, seems to have fallen into desuetude earlier still, by a considerable interval. How far Fuller may have been borne out by the colloquial usage of his contemporaries, in omitting to after his "began," is a point which it is impossible to determine.

To those who wrote, for instance, "he began rear a house" and "do not suffer him rob me," the passive constructions "the house began reared" and "they suffer me robbed by him" cannot have appeared violent. Yet such constructions, from their omitting "be," are not strictly consequential, as is, from "he is digging the grave," "the grave is being dug by him," in which expressions we simply have, in turn, "is" prefixed to the imperfect participle active and to the imperfect participle passive.

But passive constructions in which only "to" is left out before the perfect participle are not unknown.

"And yit a nother sawe of behoves be spoken." Robert Mannyng (1327-1338), in Hearne's Peter Langtoft's Chronicle (ed. 1810), p. 172.

<sup>1</sup> The Church-History of Britain (1655), Book X, p. 77.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Examen Historicum (1659), Part I, p. 187.

knows full well that such participles equivale infinitives.<sup>5</sup> . . . The troubles in the Low Countries began heightned, that is, to <sup>6</sup> heightned. The distemper was bred some years before, which now came to the paroxism thereof, viz., anno 1618."

That Fuller is not seen to have appealed to preceding writers, as warranting his "began heightned," is significant. The fact is,

"He suffred his owne bodye be woundid for the." Anon., Early English Versions of the Gesta Romanorum (fourteenth century), p. 44 (ed. 1879). "Cordell, his doughter, did hym be beried at Leycetur." Ibid., p. 52. "Thow shalt make be callid to the al the lordes and cheveteynis of the empire." Ibid., p. 251. See also ibid., pp. 203, 311.

"It oughte be seid"; "alle the religiouns . . . forbeden thilk religioun be doon and usid." Bp. Reginald Pecock, Repressor, etc. (about 1456), pp. 256, 478, 479. See also pp. 331, 453. "Be undirnome," "be blamed," and "be had" are found at pp. 435, 456, 463, after "worthi."

"Saluste saieth that there ought great glorie be gyven to theym that have done veraie hygh and great actes." Lord Berners, The Golden Boke, etc. (1534), sig. B 5 r (ed. 1546).

"Ought that be granted to force, which was denied to love?" "Hee caused the enemies spoiles bee erected." Henry Carey, Earl of Monmouth, Romulus and Tarquin (1637), pp. 71, 88. See also pp. 93, 125, 159, etc.

"Though poets . . . made a prison be despised," etc. Id., Man Become Guilty (1650), p. 384. See also pp. 27, 28, 32 (quinquies), etc.

"To make that be better understood which we said before," etc. Sir Richard Baker, Discourses upon Cornelius Tacitus (1642), p. 363. See also pp. 24, 62, etc.

"He employed the rest of that day in making the inclinations of the inhabitants be sounded," etc. Sir Aston Cockain (?), Cassandra (1652), p. 219.

\*\* From St. Matthew's Gospel and Vergil, respectively, Fuller here adds, as affording expressions parallel to his "began heightned," "εὐρέθη ἐν γαστρὶ ἔχουσα, pro ἔχευν," and "sensit medios delapsus in hostes, pro delapsum se esse." With these passages compare, as approximate, "they were seen running away," and "he felt injured." It is observable, however, that Fuller's "pro ἔχευν" is gratuitous, and that—differently from "it continues running," the alternative of "it continues to run,"—" seen running away" is not necessarily the same as "seen to run away."

<sup>6</sup>Mr. James Nichols, who makes as if editing very critically the work here quoted, silently prints "to be." See *The History of the University of Cambridge*, etc. (1840), p. 544.

The Appeal of Injured Innocence (1659), Part II, p. 98.

<sup>8</sup> Fuller's use, as above, of the perfect participle suggests such locutions—common in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, but seemingly traceable somewhat before,—as John of Trevisa's "is to menynge," instead of "is to mean"; locutions which by no means "died out about the end of the fourteenth or the beginning of the fifteenth century," as the Rev. Dr. Richard Morris asserts. Udall, in his Roister Doister, written after the middle of the sixteenth century, has "taught to kissing and licking" and "he hath somewhat to dooing." Striking,

that his was an age when it was the rule for every one to rest mainly on his own authority for the way in which he handled English, and when an author, on finding his language impeached, was

however, is John Evelyn's: "He first begins with commanding them to hungering and thirsting after righteousness." History of Religion (1657-1683), Vol. II, p. 137 (1850).

Though, in the aforesaid phrases, we have, to the eye and ear, the substitution of the present participle for the present infinitive, the supposition, which has been made by grammarians, that those who early employed them, whether in speech or on paper, merely corrupted the old infinitival termination, is one that does not lack plausibility.

In one and the same page are to be found, besides "in tyme comyng," the forms "in tyme to comyn" and "in any tyme to comyng." Anon., Chronicle, etc. (about 1469?), p. 131 (Camden Society, 1876). A little later occurs: "And they founde this one squyre to herynge his masse besyde Saynt Edwardes shryne; and there they slewe hym, the whiche was called Hawell." Anon., Cronycle of Englonde (about 1483), sig. Z I r. (ed. 1510). But the original edition of this work has "hering" instead of the later "to herynge." Both Wynkyn de Worde and Julyan Notary insert "to" in this place. See note 20 at p. 304, infra.

The terminations -en and -ing have freely been confounded. A familiar instance is seen in beholding, "indebted," for beholden, used in 1469 and about 1471, by Sir Thomas Malory and Sir John Fortescue, respectively, and by scores of authors thence onward till after 1700. The nature of this corruption is, presumably, phonetic. A book published in the time of the Commonwealth gives, to illustrate "such words as are altogether alike in sound," the sentence: "For the beholding of it I am beholden to him." Richard Hodges, The Plainest Directions for the True Writing of English, etc. (1649), p. 5.

Owing, as in "gold owing him,"—a use current ever since 1455, or earlier,—is hastily asserted, by Bp. Lowth, to be changed from owen, perfect participle of owe. Such a participle I find twice in the Paston Letters; but it is, pretty certainly, to be accounted a provincialism. In the old "gold owen him," owen is the uncontracted form of the adjective own, "proper," "appertaining," and governs a dative. Hence, in "gold owing him," we have, it seems, together with the mistake of one word for another, -en altered, by slovenliness of utterance, to -ing.

In the Wyclifite Gospels, "hym sittynge," "us slepinge," "him herd," "him forsakun," etc., afford samples of the case absolute. Add "hym unwyttynge" (Select English Works of John Wyclif (1869–1871), Vol. III, p. 281), to signify "he being unaware"; and compare "she wold do it, unwitting you or any of her freinds" (Godfrey Green, 1464, in the Plumpton Correspondence, p. 11). Through noteworthy ignorance, Thomas Denyes (1454) and John Paston (1470) wrote "myn unwetyng" and "my onwetyng" (Paston Letters, ed. 1872–1875, Vol. I, p. 287, and Vol. II, p. 412). Sir John Paston's "his unwarys" and "your onknowleche," in the same work, Vol. II, pp. 328 and 393, also deserve passing mention.

Of unwitting, as a corruption of unwitten,—which corruption might, but for explanation, be surmised in "hym unwyttnge," quoted just above,—I know of

generally wont, if he offered any defence at all, to content himself with a reference to Latin or Greek, often more or less inapposite or fallacious.

but one instance: "In the meane season, Kyng Henry, . . . . unwittyng to Edward, gat Duresme," etc. Richard Grafton, Continuation of Hardyng's Chronicle (1543), fol. 3.

As to unknowing, there is nothing wrong, most probably, in "unknowing the said peple wherfore it was" (Anon., An English Chronicle, before 1471, p. 62, ed. 1856); but unknowing indubitably holds, in divers passages, the place of unknown. "He thought that the provost, . . . whiche secretely, unknowynge to no man, bare and had on his flesshe the hayre," etc. Knight of La Tour-Landry (about 1372?), p. 189. " Unknowynge to the,' quod the seconde broder, 'he gave me al that is in brede, length, and depnes of that sayd tree; and therfore I have as grete ryght in the tree as thou." Anon., Early English Versions of the Gesta Romanorum (fourteenth century), p. 432 (ed. 1879). "As it is not on knowyng to yow that I had," etc. John Paston, Jr. (1462), in the Paston Letters (ut supra), Vol. II, p. 119. "The kyng, . . . after that he perceaved they were sore punyshed and polled unknowyng to hym, restored to them their mony," etc. Richard Grafton (1543), Continuation, etc. (ut supra), fol. 142. "My commissioners, unknowing to me, when they were at the church, charged the dean," etc. Abp. Matthew Parker (1568), in Correspondence, etc., p. 312 (1853). "So that hee wilbe lesse offended with the hurt and losse of those things that hee hath lent, and were gently asked him, then with those which, unknowing to him, by force and against his will they have taken from him, yea, though they bring them afterwards hole and sound againe." Sir Thomas North, Dial of Princes, Books III, IV, fol. 115 v. (ed. 1568). See, also, Fabyan, as cited in Dr. Richardson's Dictionary.

Seen and overseen, in their discarded senses of "versed" and "in error," seem to be most easily explained as phonetic depravations of seeing and overseeing. "To have a sight in" once meant "to be conversant with." Add, probably, mistaken, as in "you are mistaken in supposing," etc.

Different, of course, from the corruptions here instanced is *lending*, for *lent*,—a style of substitution which here and there blemishes the English of Shake-

speare,-in the passage subjoined:

"But, since that, in the world, all things are graunted, not during life, but as *lendyng*, whych ought to bee rendered the day following," etc. Sir Thomas North, Dial, etc. (ut supra, ed. 1568), Books III, IV, fol. 68 r.

We find parischings, for parishens,—(French paroissiens), now lengthened into parishioners,—in the Apology for Lollard Doctrines, a treatise of the age of Wyclif. Other works of about the same time likewise occasionally tack g to a final n, as in basyng and gardyng, seen in an early translation of the Gesta Romanorum; and Sir John Fortescue has reyssynges, for raisins. Hobgobling and kitching competed, for ages, with the more etymological forms now established; and few readers of our oldish literature can be unacquainted with buskings, chickings, cousing, culvering, flanning, javeling, frankling, mandaring, etc. etc. Henry Carey, Earl of Monmouth, goes so far as to write of an arch-flamming. With respect to the obsolete popeling, "papist,"—instead of which Abp. Maxwell puts

It having been shown that the idiom under consideration has been explicitly recognized, the simplest form of it, or that in which the perfect participle, by itself, or annexed to an auxiliary, stands

papeling and papling,—it is hardly questionable that it is only papalin (Italian papalino), Sir Richard Baker's popeline. Housyng or housing, long often a plural, I do not here add, being cautioned, by the Rev. Professor Skeat, against postdating it to housen: and Mr. Thomas Arnold's departure from manuscript authority, and insertion, in his text, of housen, displacing housyng, may be a step too venturesome. See Select English Works of John Wyclif, Vol. III, p. 336:

Richard Hodges, already quoted in this note, instances, at pp. 27, 31, 34, as "nearly alike in sound," coffin and coughing, cummin and coming, jerkin and

jerking, pullen and pulling.

On the other hand, Capgrave has songin, for singing; and tarrying, touching, working, etc., were now and then similarly maimed by writers of his century, as they are by many vulgar speakers still. In writing, no less than in speaking, ill-educated Irishmen often put been and seen for being and seeing.

Stockens was, for a long time, quite as customary as stockings, the correct word, a diminutive.

The by-point now dismissed having, though from no lack of materials, been treated succinctly, I would say a few words on another old idiom, alike strange and rare, in a way cognate thereto by opposition.

"A man, doynge a trespasse ayenst almighty God, and Iye longe in it, offendeth more grevously than," etc. "Therfore, let every synner, . . . not spekynge one thynge, and thynke an other," etc. Bp. Fisher (1509), English Works, Part I (1876), pp. 203, 257. "Lye" and "thynke" are here for "lying" and "thinking"; the seeming infinitives being, really, present participles, less by their termination, which is to be resumed from "doynge" and "spekynge."

"Returning were as tedious as go o'er." Shakespeare, Macbeth, Act III,

Scene IV. "Go" may, however, be for "to go."

And the present participle did not stand alone in being apocopated as above. "Thou promisist and assurid me," etc. Anon., An English Chronicle (before 1471), p. 16 (in the Camden Miscellany, Vol. I).

"He extolleth . . . . and diminish the aid of the French king toward us," etc. Abp. Cranmer (1531), Miscellaneous Writings and Letters (1846), p. 231.

"Forsomuch as he . . . hath and do sit in place of judgment there," etc. Abp. Parker (1573), Correspondence (1853), p. 431.

"That man, therefore, that walloweth in idlenes lappe, and that vouchsafe not," etc. Sir Thomas North, Dial of Princes, fol. 362 (ed. 1582). In the edition of 1568, Books III, IV, fol. 106, the reading is vouchsafeth, on which, perhaps, the writer thought he improved, by substituting vouchsafe.

"Vulgar and too open speech abaseth them and make them vilified." Sir

Richard Baker, Discourses upon Cornelius Tacitus (1642), p. 378.

In what follows, a substantival termination is to be inferred, not resumed, from a word preceding: "Oportunitee and likely [i. e., likelihood] of spede putteth a manne in courage," etc. Richard Grafton (1543), Continuation, etc. (ut supra), fol. 37. The same reading is found in Grafton's other edition of 1543, fol. 38. In his Chronicle (1568), p. 759, appears "likelihoode."

for the present infinitive active, in function or in form, shall first be exemplified:10

"He assigned Harald to Inglond, to had it in fee." Robert Mannyng (1327-1338), in Hearne's Peter Langtoft's Chronicle (ed. 1810), p. 51.

"Hym hade bene better, in good faye, Hade 11 spared oyntmente that daie." Chester Plays (about 1328?), Vol. II, p. 12.

"The Emperour hathe do cried 12 a grete feste generall to all." Anon.,

The sorts of ellipsis exemplified above were long very common with reference to one or more of several connected adjectives, also.

"This way semeth muche easier and facile then the other." William Cuningham, M. D., The Cosmographical Glasse (1559), p. 85.

"The wisest, vertuous, and most curteous princesse of Europa." William Painter, The Palace of Pleasure (1575), Vol. I, 244 (ed. 1813.)

"All the best and famous painters of our times." Richard Haydocke, Translation of Lomazzo (1598), Part I, p. 117.

The inflexion of adverbs was, likewise, freely omitted. Richard Grafton has "the sooner and hastely"; Shakespeare, "cheerfully and smooth," etc. etc.

Noticeably, by contrast, Shakespeare has "until her husband and my lord's return"; Milton, "your high and mightinesses"; Ben Jonson, "soft and sweetest"; Sir Thomas Hoby, "full and wholly"; Beaumont and Fletcher, "poor and busily."

"Mercy and chereful loke and countenaunce," a good enough Germanism, is attributed to Bp. Fisher, in his English Works, Part I (1876), p. 254. Two editions of his work on the Psalms came out in 1509; and one of them has what is, beyond dispute, the preferable word, "mery," a reading not noticed by Fisher's editor, the Rev. Prof. J. B. Mayor.

<sup>9</sup>It has not seemed necessary to distinguish, in this paper, between cases where the infinitive is integrated by the introductory to and those where it is

not so integrated.

10 Conversely, the present infinitive active is sometimes found used, by poetic licence, instead of the perfect participle. "Had not this humor their stout hearts allure To high attempts, their fame had been obscure." Rev. Robert Parsons, Leycesters Ghost (1584?), p. 11 (ed. 1641). This passage belongs to an age long posterior to that in which the perfect participle, not only of many strong verbs, but of most verbs derived from Latin supines, had the same form as the infinitive; an age followed by one in which the perfect participle of strong verbs largely came to wear—as it still often wears, though less commonly than some generations back,—the form of the preterite, as in "had rose, smote, took," and the like.

<sup>11</sup> The infinitival to was, of old, often omitted after better.

Alternatively to the construction assumed to be exhibited above, we may suppose an ellipsis, of a sort which was far from unexampled in former times, the supplial whereof yields "hade he spared."

12 Imprudently, the editor puts "crie" in the text, and relegates "cried," the reading of his MS., to a foot-note.

On the interpretation of "do cried," see note 16, infra.

Early English Versions of the Gesta Romanorum (fourteenth century), p. 15 (ed. 1879). "And, as this waccheman yede from him, he purposid to sitte down and esid him selve." Ibid., p. 96. "And therefore he hadde no power but to take him oute of presoune and presentid him to his fadir." 18 Ibid., p. 134.

"I have herd told it somtyme, quod I." Chaucer, Boethius, p. 27.

"Lord, sith Poule presumed not to founded 14 soche sectis, why schulde foles and ydiotes take this upon hom?" Select English Works of John Wyclif (1869-1871), Vol. III, p. 419.

"Yif thai had kept Cristis comaundment, Thai schuld never be schamyd ne chent, Ne lost here lyfe, ne lond, ne rent, Nouther hongud 16 ne draw." Rev.

John Audelay (1426), Poems, p. I (Percy Society, 1844).

"He wyl say lyche as he hath herd her seyd." Margaret Paston (1448), in the Paston Letters (ed. 1872-1875), Vol. I, p. 70. Various persons, whose letters, etc., dated from 1452 to 1469, are given in the same work, write: "He . . . . wold have do the sheryff delyverid hym owt of prison." "I have . . . don hem enquered in dyverse placs." "Jenney had do warned 16 the corte there to be the same Friday." "My Lorde desired you to come and spoken with hym." "He hathe . . . takyn suche a direccion, that they may graunted it ne man but hym." "She hathe seyd, syn he departyd hens, but she myght have hym, she wold never maryd: hyr hert ys sor set on hym." "He shall Crists ours [curse?] and mine clene tryed." "You nowther shuld vex, lette, nor trobilled the seid endifferent men." "Ther shuld non of my Lords concell, well avysed, mevyd to the contrary." Vol. I, pp. 244, 247; Vol. II, pp. 55 (two passages), 104, 142, 237, 362, 368.17

"But he were presoned, Or els so seke that he myght not journeid," etc. John Hardyng, Chronicle (fifteenth century), p. 133 (ed. 1812).

"Who that will mete an hardy knyght, lete hym go to hym; for, whom that he smote, died 18 hym behoved." 19 Anon., Merlin (1450-1460?), p. 654.

"Gorrecting the editor's punctuation, I have struck out his comma after "down," and again after "presoune." In so doing, I am justified by the Latin original. "And esid him selve" represents "ad purgandum ventrem"; and, in like manner, "presentid" does not render a Latin preterite.

<sup>14</sup> Mr. Thomas Arnold, the editor of the work quoted, gives this as the reading of his single MS., and changes it, perhaps unadvisedly, into "founde."

<sup>15</sup> The perfect participle here does duty for the present infinitive passive; a point considered in the sequel.

"In old verse, "had do warned" would ordinarily denote "had caused to be warned," not "had caused [a person, or persons] to warn"; and one cannot say positively which sense is here intended. But see note 36, p. 309, infra.

The ambiguity which this passage offers is not the only one of its kind that perplexes me in the present assemblage of quotations.

<sup>17</sup> In Vol. III, p. 116, Sir John Paston (1474) has: "Neverthelesse, I assayed hym iff he wolde, iff nede hadde ben, gyvyn me," etc. "Gyvyn" is here, almost certainly, the old infinitive.

18 Here, and often below, the succedaneous participle belongs to an intransitive verb.

19 The sense is, "it needs befell him to die," "he inevitably died." Merlin, though in prose, abounds with verbal transpositions.

"He ordeyned that there schuld no nunne handeled the corporas, ne cast none encense in the cherch." Rev. John Capgrave, Chronicle of England (about 1464), p. 67.

"There was brought unto him worde that Robert Wellez . . . had doo made proclamacions in all the churchez of that shire," etc. Anon., Chronicle of the Rebellion in Lincolnshire (1470), p. 6 (in the Camden Miscellary, Vol. I).

"The peple . . . demed that it sholde betokened sum harm sone aftirward." Anon., An English Chronicle (before 1471), p. 63 (Camden Society, 1856).

"What yf ye had herde this my cruell enemy Domesthenes [sic] spoken these wordes hymselfe," etc. Bp. Fisher (1509), English Works, Part I (1876), p. 140.

"Yet shall there never woman excused 30 her by Lucres." Anon., Cronycle of

Englonde (about 1483), sig. D 2 v. (ed. 1510). "He assygned so wyse a man as Traian was to governed the people after hym." "He commaunded anone sharpely all his men for to assaylled the castell." "And the clergye put it of, and wolde not graunted it unto Ester next comynge." Id., ibid., sig. F 2 r., O 4 v., Y 3 r. 21

"Suffiseth it thee not to have wylled to *betrayed* mi good mother, without wylling to betraye mortally her sonne?" Robert Copland, *Helyas* (1512), p. 72 (ed. 1827).

"For neyther is a g eat army of men nor habundance of treasours the chefe socoures or defence of a kyngdome, but, moche rather, trusty and faythefull frendes, whome a man can neyther compelled 32 by force of armes, nor yet bye

<sup>20</sup> On consulting the original edition, which is conjectured to have been printed about the year mentioned in its Prologue, 1483, I find, instead of "excused," "excuse," and, in the passages following in the body of this page, the infinitives "governe," "assail," and "graunte." The change of them into participles probably lies at the door of the republisher.

The verbal deviations of the edition of 1510 from that of the previous century are almost countless. A few more of them I note, as will be seen, on other occasions.

The edition of 1510 was issued by Pynson. In Wynkyn de Worde's prior reprint, and in Julyan Notary's subsequent, dated 1497 and 1515, respectively, the infinitives "excuse," etc., spoken of above, are retained unaltered.

<sup>21</sup> Under sig. C 3 r. occurs "he wyste not what to *done*." But "done" is not necessarily a perfect participle there.

This reading is followed in fol. 6 of Thomas Paynell's "corrected" edition of Barclay's translation published in 1557. But, in Barclay's first edition, which is supposed to have appeared between 1519 and 1524, the word is "compell." Whether we have, in "compelled," a veritable alteration of Barclay's, by way of improvement, is matter of conjecture. At all events, Paynell saw nothing in it worth seriously objecting to.

A similar alteration, almost certainly made in Barclay's age, may here be mentioned. In Caxton's first edition (1477) of Earl Rivers's Dictes, etc., occurs: "Whan a man speketh, he ought to considere what he wil seye; for better it is he considere than another shold." In Wynkyn de Worde's reprint, dated 1528, we have, instead (sig. E 7 r.): "Whan a man speketh, he ought to consydere afore what he wyll sayd; for better it is consydere than an other sholde." Note also the insertion of "afore," the omission of "he," etc.

with golde nor sylver, to parsever in stedfast amyte." Rev. Alexander Barclay, Sallust, fol. 9 r. (in the second, undated, edition).

"But it fortuned yvell for the companyons, who abode and loked ever for their money, trusting to have had it to arayed and aparelled them lyke men of warr." Lord Berners, Froissart (1523-1525), Vol. I, p. 323 (ed. 1812).

"And they stak long, and wold not promyse hym that; but, at the last, they promysed hym, to the intent that they wold have had hym goyn: and so the Lordes byleved that he wold have departed." Sir William Bulmer (1524), in State Papers, etc., Vol. IV (1836), p. 77.

"He shold not have neded to forbore 28 to have done theym," etc. Sir Thomas More (1523?), in Sir Henry Ellis's Original Letters, etc., First Series (ed. 1825), Vol I, p. 204.

"'I have wyst her tell many marvylouse thyngys ere now.' 'Why,' quod the lordis, 'what have you herd her tolde?'" Id., A Dyaloge, etc., fol. xci r. (ed. 1529).

"What, then, saith my lord of Canterbury to a priest that would have had the New Testament gone forth in English?" Rev. William Tyndale, The Obedience of a Christian Man (1528), in Doctrinal Treatises, etc. (1848), p. 234.

"Kinge Rewtheres, havinge evel succes at home, in his troubles with the Brittons, didde once avoyded his contrie, and fledde into Irelonde." Anon., Translation of Polydore Vergil's Historia Anglica (temp. Hen. VIII), p. 106 (Camden Society, 1846).

"One Marcellinus, . . . one of the noumbre of those persones whom Pompeius was thought to had set on loft, had chaunged his mynde," etc. Rev. Nicholas Udall, Apophthegmes (1542), fol. 287 v. "Pompeius wished to had been borne<sup>24</sup> a poore mannes childe." "He affermed . . . his first advise and counsaill to had been muche better." "Menyng hymself never to had trusted," etc. "And Drusus, because he loved drynkyng, was, for that, by the commen voice of the people, saied to had regenerate his father, Tiberius, and made hym alive again." Id., ibid., fol. 290 v., 297 v., 313 r., 323 v.

"Was it mete for a precher such slander to beblown?" George Cavendish (1558), in Mr. Singer's edition of The Life of Cardinal Wolsey, etc., Vol. II, p. III.

"Julius Cesar . . . never let slypt one day but that hee read or wrote some thing." Sir Thomas North, Dial of Princes, Books III, IV, fol. 104 r. (ed. 1568).

"It is like, if you had seene her as the other did, you would have made Mother Ducke gone double-ringed thither." Anon., Questions of Profitable and Pleasant Concernings (1594), fol. 29 v.

"We would have had you heard 25 The traitor speak." Shakespeare, King Richard III, Act III, Scene V.

<sup>23</sup> An old form, in place of "forborne."

<sup>24</sup> This is in the margin. The body of the page has, "for me to have been born," etc.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> The Rev. Dr. E. A. Abbott, in his *Shakespearian Grammar*, p. 250 (ed. 1871), endeavours to make good English here, by inserting "to have" before "heard." The result is altogether irrational.

Even Dr. Abbott, it is to be presumed, would disapprove of the grammar of the ensuing passage, scores like which are easily producible: "And, where

"David . . . sent presently for her husband, to have had him lien with her," etc. Rev. William Watson, A Decacordon of Ten Quodlibeticall Questions, etc. p. 219 (ed. 1602).

"Argus his eies doe faile To keep a woman, when she list misdone." 26 Nicholas Breton (?), Cornucopiae (1612), p. 96 (ed. 1819).

"She would have had him gone<sup>27</sup> in with her." Rev. Robert Burton (died 1640), Anatomy of Melancholy, Vol. II, p. 330 (ed. 1806).

"He had let me seene the misery I went to engage me in." Anon., Ariana (1636), p. 30.

"I would have had him to *shewed* me their cloyster-gallerie," etc. John Grenhalgh (1662), in Sir Henry Ellis's *Original Letters*, etc., Third Series (1846), Vol. IV, p. 280.

"I went to his chamber the Friday night I first came; and there he made me stay and sup with him, and would have had me laid 28 with him that night, and was extraordinary kind to me." Rev. John Strype (1662), in Original Letters of Eminent Literary Men, etc., p. 179 (Camden Society, 1843).

"And mighty kind she is to me, and would fain have had me gone, for company, with her to Hinchingbroke." Samuel Pepys (1665), *Diary*, etc. (ed. 1876), Vol. III, p. 208.

"The light of nature would not have let me gone 29 so far astray." Dryden, An Evening's Love (about 1668), Act I, Scene I.

"I would rather have had it been on St. Thomas's day." John Aubrey (about 1680), in Dr. P. Bliss's Letters of Eminent Persons, etc., Vol. II, p. 486.

"He . . . . would have had him kept both." "Dr. D'Avenant would have had me gone and drink a bottle of wine at his house hard by," etc. Dean Swift 30 (1710), Works, Vol. IV 433; Vol. XIII, p. 134 (ed. 1778). "He would have had me dined with him." Id. (1711), Ibid., Vol. XIII, p. 287.

Your Grace, . . . trusting that he wold have been contente too have suffred you to have passed thorowe his contre," etc. Earl of Surrey (1523), in State Papers, etc., Vol. IV (1836), p. 10.

See, further, the note after the next.

26 Quite possibly, however, this is an archaism for "misdo."

<sup>27</sup> Not at all improbably, Burton would have expanded this into "to have gone," at variance with the logic of language; and a similar remark applies to a good number of passages cited in this paper. The present—or, as it is less frequently, but much more exactly, termed, the indefinite—infinitive, "go," expresses what Burton intended.

So far as I know, the perfect infinitive is all but undeviatingly misemployed in the lawless idiom containing "had like," so common in old writers. In "I had like to have come," as the sense is "there was a likelihood of my coming," "to have come" is a vicious prolepsis.

28 For "lain," of course.

<sup>29</sup> Sir Walter Scott silently changes this to "go." Just as objectionably, editing De Foe, he seems to impute to him the word "starvation."

<sup>30</sup> In his *Gulliver's Travels*, Part IV, Chap. I, he also writes: "I had several men *died*, in my ship, of calentures." This style of phrase is very common among English farmers, with reference to sheep and the like.

"I... was in hopes you would ... have let us heard from you." Erasmus Lewis (1717), in Swift's Works (ut supra), Vol. XV, p. 202.

"My men would fain have had me given them leave to fall upon them at once in the dark," etc. Daniel De Foe, Robinson Crusoe (1719), Vol. I, pp. 318,

319 (ed. 1840).

"He would very submissively have had me shown myself as captain." Id., A New Voyage, etc. (1725), p. 79 (ed. 1840). "My men would fain have had me gone ashore again, and trafficked with the people for more gold." "They ought to have let us known who they were first." Id., ibid., pp. 145, 215.

"The apparition . . . would have had Taverner rode back his way with him."

Id., The Secrets of the Invisible World Disclosed (1727), p. 275 (ed. 1840).

"He would have had us taken a road which was full of those people we were so much afraid of," Dr. Johnson, A Voyage to Abyssinia, p. 41 (ed. 1735).

"The girl said, if her master would but have let her had money to have sent for proper advice," etc. George Villiers, Vol. II, p. 90.31

The next group of quotations exhibits the perfect participle, generally as a constituent of a tense, but sometimes alone, instead of the perfect infinitive active:

"And it had ben wel gouverned, [it] might many a yeere susteyned youre werres," etc. Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester (1440), in Wars of the English in France, Vol. II (1864), p. 450.

"He myght rewlyd al Walsynham as he had lyst, as it ys seyd." Margaret Paston (1461), in the Paston Letters (ut supra), Vol. II, p. 29. "I wutte wele, yf I had soo doon, ye wuld nat assynyd me . . . that I schuld resseyve," etc. Id. (1477), ibid., Vol. III, p. 201.

"For the lordys wolde fayne hadde hyr unto Lundon; for they knewe welle that alle the workyngys that were done growe by hyr." Anon., Chronicle, etc.

(about 1469?), p. 209 (Camden Society, 1876).

"That, I kno well, the kyngis grace hade lever hade 32 be done," etc., John Flamank (1503?), in Letters and Papers Illustrative of the Reigns of Richard III and Henry VII, Vol. I, p. 232.

"But who that wolde hym drawen out of that hyll Had ben a fole." Rev. Alexander Barclay, Shyp of Folys (1509), Vol. I, p. 227 (ed. 1874).

"A man on his cloke shoulde not aspyed 33 a here." Id., Fyfte Eglog (about 1520), p. 1 (Percy Society's ed., 1847).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> This extract I take from Dr. Priestley's Rudiments of English Grammar, etc., p. 127 (ed. 1768). Of George Villiers, which I suppose to be a novel, I have found no other trace.

As it appears from his comment on the extract, Dr. Priestley did not perceive that its "had" should be corrected into the infinitive "have."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> We have not a case in point here, if "that" is to be understood before his word.

<sup>33&</sup>quot;Aspy," for "espy," is so common, in our older literature, as to render improbable the supposition that "aspyed" is here an error for "a spyed," that is to say, "have spied."

"If the Duke of Lancastre, his cosyn, had nat counsayled hym to have peace, he would nat agreed 34 therunto." Lord Berners, Froissart (ut supra), Vol. I, p. 255. "Ther myght well assembled togyder an eyght thousande men." "Men supposed that he wolde therby anexed the countie of Flaunders," etc. "He might wel escaped, if he had wolde." "If they coude amended it." Id., ibid., Vol. I, pp. 646, 700; Vol. II, pp. 402, 738.

"If he had discryed their names, thei would, undoubtedly, by and by addressed theimselfes to a manifeste sedicion, for veraye feare of punyshemente." Rev.

Nicholas Udall, Apophthegmes (1542), fol. 285 r.

"I ought most rathest to obeyed." George Cavendish (about 1560), in The Life of Cardinal Wolsey, etc., Vol. I, p. 210 (Singer's ed.).

"And they that should assisted, I wote not how they were brysted," Anon., Godly Queene Hester (1561), p. 23 (ed. 1873).

"I wolde gladlye byne unsupped, soo you had your fyll." Anon., Jacke Jugeler (about 1563?), p. 78 (ed. 1873).

"Then should not thus my silly soule *Bene* wrapt in irkesome woe, Nor it have felt the carefull thrall That now is forste to showe." John Norden, *A Sinfull Mans Solace* (1585), fol. 25 v.

"But, by this meanes, in Fraunce we dayly felt such smarte, As might with pitie perst an adamantine harte." Rev. John Higins (1587), in The Mirrour for Magistrates (ed. 1815), Vol. II, p. 431.

"For no man doubts but the blood shed . . . might, if God had so beene pleased, bin able to have driven the heathen monarch," etc. Henry Chettle, Englandes Mourning Garment (1603), in Shakespeare Allusion Books, Part I, p. 88.

"Romanus . . . gave order . . . that unto him . . . they should acknowledge received the greatest part of the wages," etc. Philemon Holland, Ammianus Marcellinus (1609), p. 347.

"As a theefe, when he is pardoned, lookes backe to the gallowes, or to the halter that had like to hangd 35 him, so lookes shee on her son." Rev. Dr. Robert Wilkinson, A Paire of Sermons, etc. (1614), p. 11.

"If hee had would, hee might easily, and according to the manner of men, occupied the monarchy and domination, for his children and their posterity, uppon all the people of Israel." Rev. Dr. John Donne, The Auncient History of the Septuagint, p. 216 (ed. 1633).

"He... began... to say that he was unworthy of martirdom, which, by his proceedings, he might seemed to run upon." Thomas Hayne, The Life and

Death of Dr. Martin Luther (1641), p. 69.

"Might not a cursory meal been allowed them in a running march, a snatch and away?" Rev. Dr. Thomas Fuller, A Pisgah-sight of Palestine, etc., Books I-III, p. 255 (ed. 1650). "The soules of these children are charitably conceived, by the primitive Church, all marched to Heaven, as the infantry of the noble army of martyrs." Id., ibid., p. 301.

35 The writer of this would, I think, have been to seek for a precedent, if he had offered to explain it otherwise than, however illegitimately, by "have hanged." See the end of note 27 at p. 306, supra.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> Some might be disposed to venture the conjecture that we should read "a greed," meaning "have agreed"; but most of the succeeding passages from Lord Berners go to show that such a conjecture is hardly colourable.

"He is a true prophet, which preacheth the Messiah already come, in the person of Jesus; and he a false one, that denyeth him come," etc. Thomas Hobbes, Leviathan (ed. 1651), p. 233.

"This aversion, heighten'd by a vast ambition, . . . had like to broke out in the reign of Antoninus Pius." Rev. Jeremy Collier, The Emperor Marcus Antoninus his Conversation with Himself, etc. (1701), p. lxxxix.

As in Fuller's "began heightned," adduced at the beginning of this paper, the perfect participle has largely been put, by ellipsis, for the present infinitive passive. Extracts in substantiation of this statement here follow:

"Often I haf herd told" of this Duke Roberd, So gode knyght no so bold was non in alle the werld." Robert Mannyng (1327-1338), ut supra, p. 101.

"Hath Theseus doon wrought." Chaucer, Knightes Tale, l. 1055. "These marchaunts had doon fraught." Id., Man of Lawes Tale, l. 171. "God, of his mercy, . . . Hath doon yow kept." Id., Clerkes Tale, ad fin.<sup>37</sup>

"I have herd told of Busirides, that was wont," etc. Id., Boethius, p. 53.

"For what cause shulde meve the Pope to make him clepid 38 moost blessid fadir, sith nether truthe ne leve of God moveth that he is ought blessid?" Select English Works of John Wyclif (ut supra), Vol. I, p. 228.

36 We should now say "heard it told"; but the full phrase, next after the venerable "heard tell," was "heard to be told."

Not quite impossibly, however, "herd told" is instead of "heard tell," that is to say, "heard men tell." See the quotation from Chaucer at p. 300, supra and notes 12, 16, ibid.

"Such persones as the [said Sir Ni]cholas shalle do name and apointe," etc. Sir Nicholas Vaux (1513?) in The Chronicle of Calais, p. 204 (Camden Society, 1846). "Do [i. e., cause] name," as here used, does not match with "heard tell" or "heard say"; the infinitive active in the expression clearly usurping the place of the infinitive passive. This passage is adduced in preference to others, as affording a late instance of an idiom very common in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

As "say" was never a participle, there is bad idiom in what follows: "Since his coming, as I hear say by such persons as," etc. Abp. Thomas Cranmer (1538), Miscellaneous Writings, etc. (1846), p. 373. The context shows that the sense is not, "as I hear, from such persons, etc., that people say."

<sup>37</sup> In 1874, the Rev. Professor Skeat, on my consulting him as to Chaucer's using, or not using, the perfect participle in lieu of the present infinitive passive,—"a most remarkable idiom," as he has since called it,—was so good as to direct me to the last of the passages quoted above; and I have to thank him for a recent communication regarding the rest of them.

In Chaucer, pp. 122, 123 (1877, Clarendon Press Series), Professor Skeat has a note on the subject in hand, and quotes all the aforesaid passages, together with three parallel ones from Barbour's Bruce.

38 While the modern equivalent of this, "make him called," is now an obsolete expression, and "make him to be called" is obsolescent, we sometimes say "I wish him rewarded," "I ordered a boat built"; almost without an option,

"Serys, alle these materys I have herd sayd." Anon., Ludus Coventriae (fif-

teenth century?), p. 304.

"Sir John Paston, ut asserit, hath optyned me condempnyd," etc. William Paston (1425), in the Paston Letters (ut supra), Vol. I, p. 21. "I have . . . . doon dewely examyned the instrument by," etc. Id. (1426), ibid., Vol. I, p. 24.

"The Dolphyn, that so horribly made sleen<sup>39</sup> . . . Johan, Duc of Burgoyne," etc. Lydgate (1426), in *Political Poems and Songs* (1859-1861), Vol. II, pp. 133.

134.

"He made theim wryten, for long rememory." John Hardyng, Chronicle (fifteenth century), p. 42 (ed. 1812). "He in no wise wolde suffre no childe slayn."

Id., ibid., p. 100.

"Also the kynge grauntyde, the same tyme, that the lyberteys and franches of the cytte shulde not, aftyr that tyme, for noo cause takyn 40 away into the kyngys honde." Anon., Chronicle, etc. (about 1469?), p. 77 (Camden Society, 1876).

"My lord hath do brokyn 41 all the passages excep Newham bryge." Edmund

Bedyngfeld (1477), in the Paston Letters (ut supra), Vol. III, p. 203.

"He became wonder wrothe ayenst Syr Edwarde, and anone lete hym arestyd," etc. Anon., Cronycle of Englonde (ut supra), sig. V 2 v. "Kynge Rycharde... brought her in to Englonde, and let her crowned 42 quene," etc. Id., ibid., sig. Z 5 r.

"Wherfore we beseke your good maystirshyp... to make our exkuse to hym, and to do hyse lordshyp *presentyd* with a porpeyse, whiche we send yow be the brynger of thys." Anon. (1491), in the *Paston Letters* (ut supra), Vol. III, pp. 370, 371.

"He is onely to byleved, and hys onely sonne, of whom him self commaunded." Sir Thomas More, A Dyaloge, etc., fol. xli, r. (ed. 1529).

"He gave them the rainbow to be a sign of the promise, for to make it the

"he will see it done," "they would have it sent"; and invariably, "get this mended," etc. etc. In a good number of the instances bracketed with that to which this note is attached, the strangeness, to us, results from there being something archaic in the contextual employment of the governing verbs.

Most of these verbs are from among those after which, in regimen, the infinitival "to" was once, or is still, at times dispensed with. A list of them is given in Vol. II, p. 294, note 34.

39 But it is doubtful whether this is not an infinitive.

<sup>40</sup> This seems the less singular, when it is borne in mind that "ought take" was long good idiom, and that, of old, much more generally than now obtains, "should" implied obligation. See the end of the note before the last.

41 See note 16 at p. 303, supra.

<sup>49</sup> In the original edition of the work quoted, the readings instead of the words italicized above are "be arested" and "be crouned." Wynkyn de Worde and Julyan Notary omit "to" before "arestyd," but allow it to remain before "crowned." See note 20 at p. 304, supra.

better believed,<sup>43</sup> and to keep it in mind for ever." Rev. William Tyndale (date uncertain), in *Doctrinal Treatises*, etc. (1848), p. 348.

"Ye woll cause this good and honeste marchaunt, being my Lordis true, faithfull, and loving subjecte, restored to his pristine fredome," etc. Anne Boleyn (about 1533?), in Sir Henry Ellis's Original Letters, etc., First Series (ed. 1825), Vol. II, p. 46.

"Finally, all my seducers and false teachers, and all other besides whom I shall hereafter know suspected of heresy or errors," etc. Bp. John Bale (1544), Select Works (1849), p. 48. "How the priests that time fared, blasphemed, and cursed, requiring the people not to pray for him, but to judge him damned in hell," etc. Id., ibid., p. 52. "We have, in abundance, the verity of God's word and promise, to prove them both saved and glorified in Christ." Id. (1547), ibid., pp. 245, 246. "How can ye suffer such mischiefs uncorrected?" Id. (no date), ibid., p. 54.

"If your harte saye that I am a feyned friende, then I take my selfe condempned." Sir Thomas North, Dial of Princes, Books III, IV, fol. 34 (ed. 1568).

"It is their religion that I desire reformed, and their Romish practises detested and abhorred." Rev. Dr. Meredith Hanmer, The Jesuites Banner (1581), The Epistle Dedicatorie.

"Whose father he caus'd murder'd in those wars." Rev. Robert Greene (died 1592), Dramatic Works, etc. (ed. Dyce), Vol. II, p. 204.

"That they will suffer these abominations . . . By our strong arms from forth her fair streets chas'd." Shakespeare, Lucrece (1594), l. 1634.

"But, if it operate against his will, it might seeme to turne to the scandall of the omnipotent Creator to suffer his servants, so arrogant in rebellion, unpunished."44 Richard Dolman, The French Academie, Vol. III (1601), p. 707 of the entire work, ed. 1618.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> Instead of the substantive "make-believe," used by Coleridge, Southey, and Charles Lamb, and familiar to everybody, Cardinal Newman has, more than once, "make-belief"; a form of which there is as little rhematic justification as there is of "hear-saying," for "hearsay."

<sup>44</sup> Inasmuch as "unpunished" is here only a quasi-participle, this extract, critically, has its appropriate place, with reference to the omission of "to be," in company with miscellaneous passages like those subjoined:

<sup>&</sup>quot;For, where good ghests may take a cottage gratefull, There such as thou do make a pallace hatefull." Sir John Harington (died 1612), *Epigrams*, Book IV, No. 62.

<sup>&</sup>quot;As one, therefore, that, in worthy examples, holds imitation better than invention," etc. Bp. Joseph Hall (1608), p. 151 (ut supra).

<sup>&</sup>quot;Gehazi, happily there present, attests her the woman whose son was restored to life." Rev. Dr. Thomas Fuller, A Pisgah-sight, etc. (ut supra), Books I-III, p. 162. In that work, various non-rhematic parts of speech, as the substantive, the adjective, and the preposition, without the copula "to be," or "to have been," are likewise found after the verbs allow, approve, avouch, conceive, conclude, deny, intend, object, presume, pretend, record, resolve.

<sup>&</sup>quot;It is ceremonial, because it is inferr'd a legal impurity." Bp. Jeremy Taylor, Ductor Dubitantium (1660), p. 218 (ed. 1671).

"What meanes your Grace to suffer me abus'd thus?" Dr. George Chapman, Monsieur D'Olive (1606), Act II.

"The mind that desires them for their owne sakes, and suffers it selfe taken up with their sweetnesse as his maine end, is already drunken," Bp. Joseph Hall (1608), Works, p. 308'(ed. 1648). "Which, yet, he desires secretly borne." Id. (1608), ibid., p. 177.

"But I, . . . Knowing his death would cause the Muses slaine, . . . Doe give," etc. Christopher Brooke, A Funerall Elegie on the Prince (1613), sig. B

"When Leo desired Peter to amend his epistle, hee meant more then to desire him to procure it amended of God by his prayers." E. W., More Worke for a Masse-priest (1621), p. 35.

"The nobility of Japan, being full of children, do usually take a course to procure these sonnes of theirs entered into the order of the Bontii." Rev. William Freake, The Doctrines and Practises of the Societie of Jesuites (1630), p. 23.

"Seldome was known more bloud spilt, and a battel sooner won by fewer men and with so little losse." Sir Robert Stapylton, Strada (1650), Books VIII, IX, p. 52.

"Such towns... are not to be presum'd placed according to exactness," etc. Rev. Dr. Thomas Fuller, A Pisgah-sight, etc. (ut supra), Books I-III, p. 46. Also ibid., Books I-III, pp. 35, 199, 253, 345; Books IV, V, pp. 97, 155, 158, 187.

"Of late the fennes nigh Cambridge have been adjudicated drained, and so are probable to continue." Id., History of the University of Cambridge, p. 72 (ed. 1655).

"What his design was, by torturing so many texts of Scripture, to make it believed that," etc. Lord Clarendon, A Brief View and Survey of the . . . Leviathan (1676), p. 205.

"We must, doubtless, confess the most skilful of our masters much excelled by the address of the Dutch teachers, or the abilities of our greatest scholars far surpassed by those of Burman." Dr. Johnson (1742), Works (ed. 1816), Vol. XII, p. 162. "In the presence of those whom she knows condemned to stay at home," etc. Id., The Idler (1759), No. 80.

Of very rare occurrence, at least comparatively, is the omission of "to have been," to the effect of burdening the perfect participle, as below, with the function of the perfect infinitive passive:

"One whom they acknowledge their deliverer," etc. Milton (1670), Prose Works (ed. 1868), Vol. V, p. 227. A list of Milton's verbs, matching Fuller's, just given, includes affirm, decipher, fable, record, report, suppose, etc., etc.

"First, I am far from granting the number of writers a nuisance to our nation, having strenuously maintained the contrary in several parts of the following discourse." Dean Swift, A Tale of a Tub, Preface.

"The Pope, Clement the Twelfth, was commonly supposed her lover," etc. Lady M. W. Montagu (1741), Letters and Works, Vol. II, p. 335 (ed. 1837).

46 Except, to the best of my information, in the pages of Dr. Thomas Fuller and Milton,—both of them studious affecters of conciseness,—my references to whom, in the latter half of this monograph, might, by the by, have been much more abundant than they are.

'Wel, sayd Arthur, thow hast said thy message, the which is the most vylaynous and lewdest message that ever man herd sente unto a kynge." Sir Thomas Malory, La Mort Darthur (1469), Vol. I, p. 42 (ed. Southey).

"And a strange noveltie it was thought, to have a privat person joyned to the Emperour in that place of dignitie; a thing that no man could remember done 46 since Dioclesian and Aristobulus time." Philemon Holland, Ammianus

Marcellinus (1609), p. 217.

"Yea, we may charitably believe Davids consorts impoverisht, not by their own carelesness, but their creditors cruelty." Rev. Dr. Thomas Fuller, A Pisgahsight, etc. (ut supra), Books I-III, p. 278. Also ibid., Books I-III, pp. 17, 141, 201, 366, 373 (bis), 392, 424; Books IV, V, pp. 12, 130, 165 (bis), 175, 176, 183, 188.

"Huntingdon and Mat. Westm. relate it done at Oxford by the son of Edric." Milton (1670), Prose Works (ed. 1868), Vol. V, p. 363. And see, in the same volume, pp. 228, 298, 314, 334.

In connexion with the outworn "make him *clepid*," it has already been noted that sundry locutions kindred to it are still current.<sup>47</sup> These excepted, however, the idioms with which this paper

<sup>46</sup> Optionally, we may here take "done" for "to have been done," or for "as having been done," but without much difference on the score of harshness of ellipsis.

<sup>47</sup>Among elliptical constructions of the perfect participle, going beyond those on which I have been descanting, are such as offer in the passages ensuing:

"The first corde is to bynde me hande and foote, so longe and so strongely, unto the bloode [be] gone out on every parte." Anon., Early English Versions of the Gesta Romanorum (fourteenth century), p. 142 (ed. 1879).

"Except he [shall have] done some dede so great of fame, That all the world may wonder at the same." Rev. Alexander Barclay, Egloges (about 1520), sig.

A 4 r. (ed. 1570).

"Whether he ranne awaie, after the deede [had been] doen, or had any blood about hym, or trembled, or stakerde," etc. Sir Thomas Wilson, The Arte of Rhetorike (1553), fol. 47 r. (ed. 1567).

"When, after long solicitation at Athens, and no good [had been] done, the fleet was sent away," etc. Thomas Hobbes, Translation of Thucydides (1629), Vol. I, p. 63 (ed. 1843).

"That check, regret, and disgust which it oft gives to our selves . . . after the sin [has been] done," etc. Anon., A Discourse of Artificial Beauty (1656), p. 43 (ed. 1662).

"Yet I hope the king's service [will be] well done, for all this." Samuel

Pepys (1663), Diary, etc. (ed. 1876), Vol. II, p. 159.

Again, the auxiliary required by the perfect participle in order to complete a tense is found left unexpressed, as if it were sufficiently determined by the tense of a verb occurring in the previous context of the sentence, or, now and then, by that context as a whole.

"Nevertheles, he dradde moche of the forseid word, and gretly [was] dullid therwith." Anon., Early English Versions of the Gesta Romanorum (fourteenth century), p. 68 (ed. 1879). "He saw neither the herte ne the houndes; and

is concerned are no longer recognized as of good repute, although,

so he [was] beleft alone; for all his servauntes folowed the herte." Ibid., p. 327. It may be questioned, however, as against the aptness of this quotation, whether the old beleave was always transitive. Witness this passage: "As I was a yonge mayden in my faders chambre, and other of grete lygnage were in my company, that oftentymes went to playe and solace, I belefte [i. e., stayed?] alone in my chambre, and wolde not go forthe, for brenynge of the sonne." Anon., Cronycle of Englonde (about 1483), sig. G 6 v. (ed. 1510).

"The firste wanhope cometh of that he demyth that he synned so highly and so ofte, and [hath] so longe layn in synne, that he schal not be saved." Chau-

cer, The Persones Tale, De Tertia Parte Poenitentiae,

"The quene Isabell . . . Sone after dyed and [was] buryed," etc. John Hardyng, Chronicle (fifteenth century), p. 330 (ed. 1812). "Some fled, some

died, some [were] maimed there for ever." Id., ibid., p. 359,

"Johan, kynge of Fraunce, that afore laye here in hostage, wente home ayen in to his owne londe, to treate of tho thynges and other that longed and [were] fallen to the governaunce of his realme." Anon., Cronycle of Englonde (about 1483), sig. X 6 v. (ed. 1510). But the original edition has "fellen," not "fallen." Wynkyn de Worde and Julyan Notary have "fallen," not "fellen." See note 20 at p. 304, supra.

"The Frenchmen kept their grounde a whyle, and many feates of armes [were] there done on both partes." Lord Berners, Froissart (ut supra), Vol. I, p. 180. "The hour of supper came, and tables [were] covered," etc. Id., ibid., Vol. I, p. 181. "He dyd so moche with assaut, that the same nyght he wanne the castell agayne, and all thenglysshmen [were] taken and slayne." Id., ibid., Vol. I, p. 186. "There was a feerse skyrmysshe, and endured long; and many knightes and squyers [were] beaten doune on both partes." Id., ibid., Vol. I, p. 191. "For, if myne enemyes knewe it, they wolde rejoyse, and our frendes [agayne be] discomforted." Id., ibid., Vol. II, p. 399.

"But this story semyth more mervelouse than trew; and, though it hath contynued here in Englond, and [is] takyn for a trewth among us Englyshmen, yet other pepull do therfore laugh us to skorne." John Rastell, The Pastyme of

People (1529), p. 4 (ed. 1811).

"And, forasmuch as the book is dedicated unto the king's grace, and also great pains and labour [have been] taken in setting forth of the same," etc. Abp. Thomas Cranmer (1537), Miscellaneous Writings, etc. (1846), p. 344.

"No man hath hindered the matter so much as this prior, nor no superstition [been] more maintained than by this prior." Id. (1538), ibid., p. 376.

"His corps . . . ther lay all that daye, and, on the morow folowing, [was] conveyed," etc. Richard Grafton (1543), Continuation, etc. (ut supra), fol. 24. "So that the Englishe ambassadours returned again to their countree, and nothyng [was] doorn or agreed upon in their matter." Id., ibid., fol. 121.

"And farther hath it gone by books written than by words spoken; and much more people [been] converted." Bp. John Bale (1550?), Select Works (1849),

p. 332.

"And, returning unto Britanny, he sent forthwith Laurence, priest, and Peter, monke, unto Rome, which should make relation unto Saint Gregory, how that

what with ignorance and slovenry, not all of them are yet disused.

the Englishmen had received the faith, and he [been] made their bishop." Rev. Dr. Thomas Stapleton, The History of the Church of Englande (1565), fol. 32, 33.

"For there are, in prynces courts, many tymes, certeyn suytes that have a good and better end then [was] looked for." Sir Thomas North, Dial of Princes, Books III, IV, fol. 154 (ed. 1568). "The self same night the kyng, with al his concubines, dyed sodenly, and his realme [was] taken from him, and put into the hands of his enemyes." Id., ibid., fol. 163. "The mylner, before the bankes [are] broken, repareth the dammes." Id., ibid., sig. †iii. r.

"The princes returned home, and due order [was] taken for the safety of the city." Anon., Second Report of Dr. Faustus (1594), p. 105 (ed. 1828).

"For, in respect of the age of this siege, that of Troy was but a child; it lasting seven and twenty yeares, and, at last, [was] not taken, but yielded up," etc. Rev. Dr. Thomas Fuller, Historie of the Holy Warre (1639), p. 208 (ed. 1647).

"They had, by order from David, their hands and feet cut off; and they [were] hanged up over the pool in Hebron." "So that the tribe of Judah alone had more cities then all the island of Crete, which had but just an hundred, and therefore [was] called Hecatompolis." Id., A Pisgah-sight, etc. (ut supra), Books I-III, pp. 275, 284. "Barnabas sinks here in silence, and his name [is] mentioned no more in the history of the Scripture." "They abstained from it, as a colour sacred and mysterious, then which none [was] more used about the Tabernacle." "Her Hebrew name signifieth 'flocks,' either because [she was] worshipped in the form of a sheep," etc. Ibid., Books IV, V, pp. 13, 98, 129.

"It began on Saterday night last, but [was] not discovered till Sonday morning." Col. Anthony Byerley (1666), in The Correspondence of John Cosin, D. D., Part II (1872), p. 155.

"He, . . . to save his head, poorly turns priest; but, that not availing him, [he is] carried into Italy, and there put to death." Milton (1670), Prose Works (ed. 1868), Vol. V, p. 234. See also ibid., Vol. V, pp. 179, 181, 193, 349, 355.

Our perfect participle and preterite being very intimately related, it is not wholly out of place to exemplify here a superannuated use of the latter of them, instead of the indefinite infinitive active. With regard to all except two of the passages given below, it is to be remembered that but was long in establishing itself in its eventual frequency as a preposition; it being refused recognition, as such, by stylists so late as King James's revisers of the Bible.

"What dude she but lefte that childe," etc. Anon., Early English Versions of the Gesta Romanorum (ut supra), p. 237. And see pp. 141, 159.

"We hadde none other remedy but strake downe our boote and mannyd her with ores." Anon., The Pylgrymage of Sir Richard Guylforde (1511), p. 68 (ed. Camden Society).

"But they found but vi. children, to whome they did nothing but tooke away theyr chaines," etc. Robert Copland, Helyas (1512), p. 76 (ed. 1827).

"These felowes . . . . That with the Gospell melles, And wyll do nothynge elles But trathynge tales telles," etc. Anon., A Pore Helpe (temp. Hen. VIII), in Mr. W. C. Hazlitt's Remains, etc., Vol. III, p. 253.

"They have done nothyng els but lyved in warre this thre or foure yere." Lord Berners, Froissart (ut supra), Vol. I, p. 755. See also Vol. I, pp. 707, 735,

Witness a leash of specimens, to add to which is certainly unnecessary:

"You should have shown yourself a respectable man, and have let him been sent to prison." Mr. Douglas Jerrold, Mrs. Caudle's Curtain Lectures, Lecture IV.

"Well, you see you were in the wrong, and had better let me gone my way." Anon., No Church (1861), Vol. I, p. 272.

"Time was lacking to me to make all the use of it I should liked to have done." Major R. D. Osborn, Islam under the Arabs (1876), Preface, p. xi.

#### FITZEDWARD HALL.

<sup>&</sup>quot;All that season thou hast dooen nothyng but receaved gyftes." Id., The Golden Boke, etc. (1534), sig. Y 8 v. (ed. 1546).

<sup>&</sup>quot;He dyd noughte but made his kyn ryche of the goodys of the church." John Rastell, The Pastyme of People (1529), p. 52 (ed. 1811).

<sup>&</sup>quot;Nothing have they done less than brought unto Christ their glory." Bp. John Bale (1550), Select Works (1849), p. 613.

<sup>&</sup>quot;And now, lest thou mayest justly complain, and say that I have, in opening of this matter, done nothing else but *digged* a pit," etc. Bp. Nicholas Ridley (1555), Works (1843), p. 14.

<sup>&</sup>quot;It appeareth they did rather allude to the names used in the Old Testament, than acknowledged a sacrificing priesthood," etc. Rev. Dr. William Fulke, A Defense, etc. (1583), p. 262 (ed. 1843).

<sup>&</sup>quot;What have they done but conspired against us, . . . and joined with our bitterest enemies to destroy us?" Thomas Hobbes, Translation of Thucydides (1629), Vol. I, p. 303 (ed. 1843).

<sup>&</sup>quot;However, they would rather have died than refused." Madame D'Arblay (1788), Diary and Letters (ed. 1842, etc.), Vol. IV, p. 342.

At p. 30 of Dr. Johnson's translation of Father Lobo's Voyage to Abyssinia, as reprinted in 1789, we read "had done nothing but told us lies." The Scotch editor, Mr. George Gleig, is pleased to hope that the "English dress" of the work, as smartened by himself, "will be found free from many of the faults by which it was formerly disgraced." From p. 7 of the original edition, published in 1735,—a great rarity, of which I possess a copy,—it appears that Dr. Johnson wrote, as might have been expected, "had done nothing but tell us lies."

#### IV.—THE ATHENIAN NAVAL ARSENAL OF PHILON.

On the 10th—22d of last April was found beside the ruins of some ancient foundations near the inner extremity of the south-eastern harbor of the Peiraic peninsula, a slab of Hymettic marble of good workmanship, 1.16 × 0.54 × 0.10 metre in size, bearing an inscription of ninety-seven lines, in excellent preservation, engraved in small letters, στοιχηδόν. Only 37 letters of the inscription are defaced, and of these all but eight can be made out with ease.¹ This inscription contains the specifications for the construction of the famous Athenian naval arsenal known by the name of its architect, Philon, and mentioned incidentally by several ancient writers.² It contains much new information regarding Athenian architecture in the middle of the fourth century before our era, and will afford material for careful study.

The text of the inscription has been published already by its owner, Mr. Alexander Meletopoulos, in the  $\Sigma\phi\hat{a}\hat{i}\rho a$  of the Peiraieus of 28-9 June, and in a special publication containing, besides, a commentary, topographical plans, and an excellent photograph of the original slab. It has been reproduced by M. Paul Foucart in the Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique for July, 1882, with a commentary and notes which have been of great assistance to me in revising my translation, and upon which I have drawn freely. The text of the inscription has appeared, also, in the farewell number of the 'Aθήναιον,—that for March and April, 1882.

The text and the translation follow.

#### TEXT.

θ]εο[ί.

Σ]υνγραφαὶ τῆς σκευοθήκης τῆς λιθίνης τοῖς κρεμαστοῖς σκεύεσιν, Εὐθυδόμου Δημητρίου Μελιτέως, Φίλωνος Ἐξηκεστίδου Ἐλευσινίου · σκευοθήκην οἰκοδομῆσαι τοῖς κρεμαστοῖς σκεύεσιν ἐν Ζείαι ἀρξά-

1 Meletopoulos: 'Ανέκδοτος ἐπιγραφή, etc., p. 8.

<sup>2</sup> Strabo, IX, p. 395; Vitruvius, *Praef*. VII 8; Pliny, VII 38, I; Plutarch, Sylla, I4. Εἰχε δὲ καὶ τὰν Πειραιᾶ μετ' οὐ πολὺν χρόνον ὁ Σύλλας, καὶ τὰ πλεῖστα κατέκαυσεν · ἀν ἦν καὶ ἡ Φίλωνος ὁπλοθήκη, θανμαζόμενον ἔργον. Cf. Appian, Bell. Mithrid. 41 (Foucart).

 $^3$  'Ανέκδοτος ἐπιγραφή. 'Η σκευοθήκη τοῦ Φίλωνος, ὑπὸ Α. Μελετοπούλου. 'Εν Αθήναις, 1882. 4to., pp. 15. With 2 plates and a photograph.

- 5 μενον ἀπὸ τοῦ προπυλαίου τοῦ ἐξ ἀγορᾶς προσιόντι ἐκ τοῦ ὅπισθεν τῶν νεωσοίκων τῶν ὁμοτεγῶν, μῆκος τεττάρων πλέθρων, πλάτος πεντήκοντα ποδῶν καὶ πέντε σὺν τοῖς τοίχοις, κατατεμῶν τοῦ χωρίου βάθος ἀπὸ τοῦ μετεωροτάτου τρεῖς πόδας, τὸ ἄλλο ἀνακαθαράμενος, ἐπὶ τὸ στέριφον στρωματιεῖ καὶ ἀναλήψεται ἵσον κατὰ κεφαλὴν ἄπαν ὀρθὸν πρὸς τ-
- 10 ὸν διαβήτην, στρωματιεῖ δὲ καὶ τοῖς κίσσιν ἀπολείπων ἀπὸ τοῦ τοίχου ἐκατέρου πέντε κ[αὶ δέκα] πόδας σὺν τῶι πάχει τοῦ κίονος. ᾿Αριθμὸς τῶν κιόνων ἐκατέρου τοῦ στοίχοιν πέντε καὶ τριάκοντα, διαλείπων δ-[ί]οδον τῶι δήμωι διαμέσως τῆς σκευοθήκης. Πλάτος τὸ μεταξὺ τῶν κιόνων εἴκοσι ποδῶν, πάχος ἐπιθήσει τὸ στρῶμα τετράπουν τιθεὶς τοὺς
- 15 λίθους ἐναλλάξ. ορ. . . ο. καὶ παρὰ μῆκος. Οἰκοδομήσει δὲ τοὺς τοίχους τῆς σκευοθήκης καὶ [τ]οὺς κίονας ἀκτίτου λίθου, θεὶς εὐθυντηρίαν τοῖς τοίχοις, πλάτος τριῶν ποδῶν, πάχος τριῶν ἡμιποδίων, μῆκος τετραπόδων τῶν [λίθ]ων, ἐπὶ δὲ ταῖς γωνίαις τετραπόδων καὶ τριῶν παλαστῶν, καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς εὐθυντηρίας ἐπιθήσει ὀρθοστάτας περὶ μέσηι τῆ-
- 20 ι εὐθυντηρίαι, μῆκος τετράποδας, πάχος πενθημιποδίων καὶ δακτύλου, ὕψος τρίποδας, τοὺς δ' ἐπὶ ταῖς γωνίαις μῆκος ἐκ τοῦ μέτρου τῶν τριγλύφων, διαλείπων θυραίας κατὰ τὸ πλάτος τῆς σκευοθήκης, δύο ἐκ[a]-τέρωθεν, πλάτος ἐννέα ποδῶν. Καὶ οἰκοδομήσει μέτωπον ἐκατέρωθε[ν] ἐν τῶι μετ[aξ]ὐ τῶν θυρῶν πλάτος δίπουν, εἰς δὲ τὸ εἴσω δεκάπουν, καὶ π-
- 25 ερικάμψει τὸν τοῖχον μέχρι τῶν πρώτων κιόνων πρὸς ὅν ἀνοίξεται ἡ θύρα ἐκατέρα. Ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ ὀρθοστάτου πλινθίσιν οἰκοδομήσει τοὺς τοίχους, μῆκος τετράποσιν, πλάτος πέντε ἡμιποδίων. Ἐπὶ δὲ ταῖς γωνίαις μῆκος ἐκ τοῦ μέτρου τῶν τριγλύφων, πάχος τριημιποδίοις. "Υψος δὲ ποιήσει τῶν τοίχων ἀπὸ τῆς εὐθυντηρίας ἐπτὰ καὶ εἴκοσι ποδῶν σὺ-
- 30 ν τῆι τριγλύφωι ὑπὸ τὸ γεῖσον. Τὰς δὲ θυραίας ὕψος πέντε καὶ δέκα ποδῶν καὶ ἡμιποδίου. Καὶ ἐπιθήσει ὑπερτόναια λίθου πεντεληικοῦ, μῆκος δώδεκα ποδῶν, πλάτος ἴσα τοῖς τοίχοις, ὕψος δίστοιχα, παραστάδας στήσας λίθου πεντεληικοῦ ἡ ὑμηττίου, ὀδοὺς ὑποθεὶς ὑμηττίους καὶ γεῖσον ἐπιθήσει ἐπὶ τῶν ὑπερτοναίων, ὑπερέχον τρία ἡμιπόδια.
- 35 Καὶ ποιήσει θυρίδας κύκλωι ἐν ἄπασιν τοῖς τοίχοις καθ ἔκαστον τὸ μετακιόνιον ἐν δὲ τῶι πλάτει τρεῖς ἐκατέρωθεν, ὕψος τριῶν ποδῶν, πλάτος δυοῖν ποδοῖν. Καὶ ἐναρμόσαι εἰς ἐκάστην τὴν θυρίδα χαλκᾶς θυρίδας άρμοττούσας. Καὶ ἐπιθήσει ἐπὶ τοὺς τοίχους γεῖσα κύκλωι, καὶ τοὺς αἰετοὺς οἰκοδομήσει καὶ γεῖσα ἐπιθήσει καταιέτια καὶ στ-
- 40 ήσει τοὺς κίονας, ὑποθεὶς στυλοβάτην κατὰ κεφαλὴν ἴσον τῆι εὐθυντηρίαι, πάχος τριῶν ἡμιποδίων, πλάτος δὲ τριῶν ποδῶν καὶ παλαστῆς, μῆκος τεττάρων ποδῶν πάχος τῶν κιόνων κάτωθεν δυοῦν ποδοῦν καὶ τριῶν παλαστῶν, μῆκος σὺν τῶι ἐπικράνωι τριάκοντα ποδῶν, σφονδύλων ἔκαστον ἐπτά, μῆκος τετραπόδων, τοῦ δὲ πρώτου πεντέποδος. Τὰ δὲ ἐπ-
- 45 ίκρανα ἐπιθήσει ἐπὶ τοὺς κίονας λίθου πεντεληικοῦ. Καὶ ἐπιθήσει

ἐπιστύλια ξύλινα, ἐπὶ τοὺς κίονας κολλήσας, πλάτος πέντε ἡμιποδίων, ὕψος ἐννέα παλαστῶν ἐκ τοῦ ὑψηλοτέρου, ἀριθμὸς δεκαοκτὰ ἐφ᾽ ἐκάτερον τὸν τόνον. Καὶ μεσόμνας ἐπιθήσει ἐπὶ τοὺς κίονας ὑπὲρ τῆς διόδου, πλάτος καὶ ὕψος ἴσα τοῖς ἐπιστυλίοις. Καὶ ἐπιθήσει κορυφαῖα 50 πλάτος ἐπτὰ παλαστῶν, ὕψος δὲ πέντε παλαστῶν καὶ δυοῦν δακτύλοιν

- Ο πλάτος έπτα παλαστών, ύψος δέ πεντε παλαστών και δυοιν δακτυλοιν ἄνευ τῆς καταφορᾶς, ὑποθεὶς ὑπόθημα ἐπὶ τῆς μεσόμνης, μῆκος τριῶν ποδῶν, πλάτος τριῶν ἡμιποδίων. Καὶ διαρμόσει τὰ κορυφαῖα κερκίσιν ἐπὶ τῶν μεσομνῶν. Καὶ ἐπιθήσει σφηκίσκους πάχος δέκα δακτύλων, πλάτος τριῶν παλαστῶν καὶ τριῶν δακτύλων, διαλείποντας ἀπ' ἀλλήλω-
- 55 ν πέντε παλαστάς. Καὶ ἐπιθεὶς ἱμάντας πλάτος ἡμιποδίου, πάχος διοῦν δακτύλοιν, διαλείποντας ἀπ' ἀλλήλων τέτταρας δακτύλους. Καὶ ἐπιθεὶς καλύμματα, πάχος δακτύλου, πλάτος ἐξ δακτύλων, καθηλώσας ἥλοις σιδηροῖς, δορώσας κεραμώσει κορινθίωι κεράμωι ἀρμόττοντι πρὸς ἄλληλον. Καὶ ἐπιθή[σ]ει ὑπὲρ τῶν θυρῶν ἐπὶ τὰ μέτωπα ἐκ τοῦ ἐντὸς
- 60 ὀροφὴν λιθίνην λίθου ὑμηττίου. Καὶ θύρας ἐπιθήσει τῆι σκευοθήκηι άρμοττούσας εἰς τὰς θυραίας χαλκᾶς ἔξωθεν ποιήσας. Καὶ συνστρώσει τὸ ἔδαφος λίθοις τὸ ἐντὸς ἄπαν συναρμόττουσι πρὸς ἀλλήλους, καὶ ἐπεργάσεται ὀρθὸν καὶ ὑμαλὲς ἄνωθεν. Καὶ διαφράξει τὸ μεταστύλιον ἔκαστον ὀρθοστάταις δυοῖν λιθίνοις, ὕψος τριῶν ποδῶν. Καὶ ἐν
- 65 τῶι μεταξὺ κινκλίδα ἐπιθήσε[ι] κλειομένην. Ποιήσει δὲ καὶ τὰς ὀροφας τὰς διαμέσου, ἐφ' ὧν τὰ σκεύη κείσεται, τὸ ἐντὸς τῶν κιόνων ἐκατέρωθεν μέχρι τοῦ τοίχου διαρμόσας καθ ἔκαστον τὸν κίονα καὶ παρὰ τὸν τοῖχον ἐκατέρωθεν διερείσματι, πλάτος πέντε παλαστῶν, ὕψος ποδιαίωι ἐπιβάλλοντι ἐπὶ μὲν τὸν τοῖχον τρεῖς παλαστάς. Παρὰ δὲ τὸν κ-
- 70 ίονα παραστύλια στήσει λίθινα. Καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν διερεισμάτων ἐπιθήσει σφηκίσκους ἐπτὰ ἐφ᾽ ἐκάστην τὴν χώραν, συμπληρῶν μέχρι τῶν κιόνων, πλάτος τριῶν παλαστῶν, πάχος ἡμιποδίου. Καὶ συνστρώσει πίναξιν ἄπαν τὸ χωρίον, συμβαλῶν καὶ κολλήσας, πλάτος τρίποδας, πάχος δυοῖν δακτύλοιν. Ποιήσει δ[ὲ κ]αὶ μεσόμνας, ἐφ᾽ ὧν κείσεται τὰ ὑποζώματα κ-
- 75 αὶ τἄλλα σκεύη παρ' ἐκάτερον τὸν τοῖχον, διπλῶς τὸ ὕψος, καὶ ἐπικάμψει καθ' ἐκάστην τὴν χώραν. "Υψος δὲ ποιήσει ἀπὸ τῆς ὀροφῆς τεττάρων ποδῶν, τ- ὴν δὲ ἐπάνω μεσόμνην ἀπὸ τῆς ἐτέρας ἀπέχουσαν πέντε πόδας. 'Ικριωτ- ῆρα στήσας ἀπὸ τῆς κάτω ὀροφῆς μέχρι τῆς ἄνω ὀροφῆς πλάτος ἡμιποδ-
- 80 ίου, πάχος ξξ δακτύλων, διερείσας διερείσματα εἰς τοὺς ἰκριωτῆρας τὸ αὐτὸ πάχος, θράνους ἐπιθήσει διανεκεῖς ἔνα ἐκιτέρωθεν, πάχος ξξ δακτύλων πανταχῆι, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτων ἐπιθήσει πίνακας συνκολλήσας, μῆκος τετράποδας, πλάτος τρίποδας, πάχος δυοῦν δακτύλοιν, καὶ [κ]αθηλώσει συναρμόττοντας ἐξ ἴσου τοῖς θράνοις. Καὶ κλίμακας ποιή-
- 85 σει ξυλίνας ἀναβαίνειν ἐπὶ τὰς μεσόμνας. Ποιήσει δὲ καὶ κιβωτούς τοῖς ἱστίοις καὶ τοῖς παραρρύμασιν τοῖς λευκοῖς ἀριθμὸν έκατὰν

τριάκοντα τέτταρας, πρὸς τὸ παράδειγμα ποιήσας, καὶ θήσει κατὰ τὸν κίονα ἔκαστον καὶ μίαν εἰς τὸ καταντ[ικρὺ] χωρίον. Καὶ ποιήσει ἀνοιγνυμένας τῶμ μὲν πρὸς τῶι τοίχωι κειμένων τὸμ πρόσθιον τοῖχον, τ-

90 ῶν δὲ κατὰ τοὺς κίονας κειμένων ἀμφοτέρους τοὺς πλαγίους τοίχους, ὅπως ἄν ἢι ὁρᾶν ἄπαντα τὰ σκεύη διεξιοῦσιν, ὁπόσ' ἄν ἢι ἐν τῆ σκευοθήκηι ὅπως δ' ἄν καὶ ψῦχος ἢι ἐν τῆι σκευοθήκηι, ὅταν οἰκοδομῆι τοὺς τοίχους τῆς σκευοθήκης, διαλείψει τῶν πλινθίδων ἐν τοῖς άρμοῖς ἢι ἀν κελεύηι ὁ ἀρχιτέκτων. Ταῦτα ἄπαντα ἐξεργάσονται οἱ μισθωσάμος καὶ πρὸς τὰ μέτρα καὶ πρὸς τὸ παράδειγμα δ

95 ενοι κατὰ τὰς συγγραφὰς καὶ πρὸς τὰ μέτρα καὶ πρὸς τὸ παράδειγμα ὁ ἄν φράζηι ὁ ἀρχιτέκτων, καὶ ἐν τοῖς χρόνοις ἀποδώσουσιν, οἶς ἃν μισθώσωνται ἔκαστα τῶν ἔργων.

#### TRANSLATION.

(In the presence of) the Gods.

Specifications for (the construction of) the stone arsenal for naval tackle and rigging of Euthydomos, son of Demetrios of Melite, and Philon, son of Exekestides of Eleusis.

An arsenal shall be built in Zeia for naval tackle beginning near the propylaion which leads from the agora as one approaches from behind the ship houses which are roofed in together. The length (of this arsenal shall be) four plethra; its breadth shall be fifty feet, or fifty-five including the walls. The ground of the site must be cut down three feet where it is highest, and leveled in the other parts, and the foundations must be laid upon the firm ground, which must everywhere be made smooth, and brought to a true plane by (the use of) the

to level. The foundations for the columns must be laid at a distance from the walls of fifteen feet, including the diameter of the columns. The number of the columns of each row shall be 35; (and the rows shall be so arranged as) to leave a passage for the people through the middle of the arsenal. The width (of this aisle) between the (two rows of) columns shall be twenty feet. The thickness of the foundation shall be four feet, and

15 the stones shall be placed crosswise . . . and lengthwise.<sup>4</sup> The walls and the columns of the arsenal shall be built of the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The stone-cutter has engraved here, by mistake, KATANTPOKY, for KATANTIKPY. (Foucart.)

<sup>2</sup> See Cartault: La Trière Athénienne. Paris, 1881. Page 170.

<sup>3</sup> See Liddell and Scott; ὁ διαβήτης.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup>Three or four letters of the inscription are effaced, here. The sense, however, appears complete. Reference is doubtless made to the position of the blocks in any row of the foundation with their greatest length alternately in the direction of the row and across it, in order to secure the greatest solidity.

stone of Akte.¹ A directing-course shall be laid for the walls, 3 feet broad, and 1½ thick, and (each) stone (of this course) shall be 4 feet long, and at the angles 4¾ feet. Upon this direct20 ing course shall be laid an upright course over the middle of the directing course. The length of the blocks of the upright course shall be 4 feet; their thickness, 2½ feet and 1 finger breadth; and their height, 3 feet. The length of the blocks at the angles shall be made to correspond with the measure of the triglyphs.²

Two doorways shall be left open at either end of the arsenal, each 9 feet wide. A pillar\* shall be built at either end between the (two) doors; it shall be 2 feet wide and shall extend inward 25 ten feet,\* and the wall against which each door opens shall (also)

be carried in as far as the first columns.\*

Above the upright course, the walls shall be built of blocks 4 feet long and 2½ thick. At the angles, the length of the blocks shall be made to correspond with the proportions of the triglyphs; and the height of the blocks shall be 1½ foot. The height of the walls above the upright course shall be 27 feet, 30 including the triglyph (frieze) beneath the cornice.

The height of the doorways shall be 15½ feet. The lintels shall be of Pentelic marble, twelve feet long, two courses in height,\* and of the same thickness as the walls. The doorposts shall be of Pentelic or Hymettic marble, and the sills of Hymettic marble. Over the lintels there shall be a cornice

projecting 11 foot.

There shall be windows all around (the building), in all its walls, opposite each intercolumniation, and at either end three; they shall be 3 feet high and 2 feet wide. Each window shall be fitted with a shutter, of bronze, fitting closely.

Upon the walls shall be placed a cornice all around; and there shall be built a pediment (upon each front), and a pedi-

<sup>1</sup> Peiraic limestone. 'Aκτή was the smaller promontory forming the southern extremity of the Peiraic peninsula.

<sup>9</sup>I. c. (probably) in every alternate course, at least, the angle block (Läufer) extended from the angle to the middle line of the second triglyph of the frieze. In the other courses, the ends of the angle-blocks (Binder) would appear upon the wall in question, and their greatest length would occupy a corresponding position to that of the blocks first alluded to, upon the side of the building at right angles to the first.

<sup>\*</sup>I have marked with an asterisk the points in the translation upon which I have received aid from M. Foucart's Commentary.

40 ment-cornice over the pediments. The columns, also, shall be placed in position, upon a stylobate on the same level as the directing-course (of the walls); the thickness of this stylobate shall be 1½ foot, its width 3½ feet, and the length of each block The lower diameter of the columns shall be 2\frac{3}{2} feet, and their height, including the capitals, 30 feet. Each column shall have seven drums, four feet high except the first, which shall 45 be five feet.1 The capitals of the columns shall be of Pentelic marble. The epistyle shall be of wood, and shall be fastened upon the columns; it shall be 21 feet wide, and not more than2 21 feet high, and the number of the (epistyle) beams on either side shall be 18. And cross beams shall be placed upon the columns, extending over the middle passage; these shall be of the same thickness and height as the epistyle beams. 50 roof beams\* shall be set up, 14 foot broad and 14 foot and 2 finger-breadths high, not including της καταφοράς.3 (each pair of roof beams) shall be placed upon the cross beams a king-post\* 3 feet long and 11 foot thick. The roof beams shall be braced to the cross beams with ties. Upon (the roof beams) shall be placed long timbers 10 finger-breadths thick, 55 3 palms and 3 finger-breadths wide, and distant from each other 11 foot. Upon these shall be placed (crosswise\*) covering planks 1 foot wide, 2 finger-breadths thick, and distant from each other 4 finger-breadths. Upon these (planks) shall be placed strips (to support the tiles\*), I finger-breadth thick and 6 broad; these shall be fastened down with iron nails. (This roof frame) shall be covered with a (preservative) coating,\* and shall then be tiled with Korinthian tiles, fitted closely to each other. Above the doors in the fronts on the inside shall be 60 constructed a stone ceiling of Hymettic marble. shall be placed upon the arsenal, fitted to the doorways, and plated with bronze upon the outside. The whole interior floor (of the building) shall be paved with blocks of stone fitted closely to each other. (This pavement) shall be worked smooth and level upon its upper surface. And each intercolumniation shall be divided off (from the middle aisle) by two upright stone 65 blocks, 3 feet high, between which shall be placed a latticed

gate (which can be) closed. The floors must be constructed,

<sup>1</sup> This left one foot for the height of the capital.

<sup>2?</sup> ἐκ τοῦ ὑψηλοτέρου.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> ἀνευ τῆς καταφορᾶς. See the Commentary, upon line 51.

<sup>4</sup> Or "locked."

also, for the spaces between (the rows of columns and the walls), on which the naval fittings are to lie; (across) these spaces on each side floor-beams must be placed extending from each column to the (side) wall. The width of these beams shall be 11 foot, and their height 1 foot; and they shall extend 3 palms 70 into the wall. Against each column shall be placed a propping block\* of stone (to support the beams). Upon these beams shall be placed seven long timbers over each space, (distributed in such a manner) as to fill it out as far as the columns. breadth of these timbers shall be # foot, and their thickness 1 The whole space shall (then) be covered in with planks, fitted and fastened together. These planks shall be 3 feet wide and 2 finger-breadths thick. There shall also be cross beams along each (side) wall (of the arsenal), upon which will lie the 75 undergirding straps' and other tackle; there shall be two tiers of them, and they shall be fastened3 to the side walls and to the columns at each interval. The distance (of the lower tier of these cross beams) from the (upper) flooring4 shall be four feet, and the upper (tier of ) beams shall be distant five feet from the others. Vertical supports shall be placed (extending) from the 80 lower flooring to the upper, ½ foot wide, and 6 finger-breadths thick; and upon these supports shall be placed flooring beams of the same thickness. (Upon these beams) shall be placed timbers, one at either side (of the platform), extending continuously (along its entire length), and 6 finger-breadths wide and thick. Upon these (timbers) shall be laid planks fitted closely together, 4 feet long, 3 feet wide, and 2 finger-breadths thick, 85 fitted evenly to the timbers, and nailed down. And wooden ladders shall be made to give access to the (supporting) cross beams for the tackle. Chests shall be made also, for the sails and for the white side curtains (of the ships), in number 134. They shall be made in accordance with the pattern, and shall be placed (one) against each column, and one in the space opposite. The chests placed against the wall shall be made to 90 open in front, and those against the columns, to open at each

side,\* in such a way that it may be possible for those passing through (the arsenal) to see all the tackle that is in the arsenal.

<sup>1</sup> Or " to be stored."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>τὰ ὑποζώματα. See Cartault: La Trière Athénienne, p. 56.

<sup>8?</sup> ἐπικάμπτω.
4 Cf. platform, or shelf.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> τοις παραρρύμασιν τοις λευκοίς. See Cartault, work cited, page 62.

That there may be ventilation in the arsenal, when the courses of the walls are laid, (spaces) shall be left open at the joints of the blocks wherever the architect shall direct. All these things 95 shall be carried out by the contractors\* in accordance with the specifications, following both the measurements and the plans which the architect shall indicate; and they shall deliver each detail of the work within the time to which they shall have agreed in the contract.\*

#### COMMENTARY.

V. 2. As we know by the Athenian naval inscriptions, the fittings of the ships were divided into two classes: ξύλινα (oars, masts, rudder, etc.), and κρεμαστά (sails, ropes, etc.), all of which are catalogued in Böckh's Attische Seewesen, and in Cartault's La Trière Athénienne. (Foucart.)

V. 3. Εὐθυδόμου and Φίλωνος. In the inscription relating to the walls of Athens (C. I. A. II 167), we find at the end of line 35, which is incomplete, proper names in the genitive. Dr. Köhler is of opinion that they are those of the overseers of the work, and of the architect. It is probably the same in this instance (Foucart). In any case, there can be but little doubt that Philon was the chief architect, as most of the ancient authorities mention the arsenal under his name.

Εὐθύδομος Δημητρίου Μελιτεύς appears as one of a committee of ten chosen to dedicate a statue to Aphrodite, in an inscription which is shown by the use of  $\sigma$  for  $\sigma$ , as well as by other evidence, to be prior to 350 B. C.—Φίλων Ἑξηκεστίδου Ἑλευσίνιος. We learn for the first time by this inscription the names of the deme and of the father of the architect Philon, whom some authorities had been inclined to identify with Philon of Byzantion. (Foucart.)

The following is M. Foucart's table of the measures used in the inscription:

δάκτυλος, finger-breadth, = 19.3 millimetres. παλαιστή, palm, = 4 δάκτυλοι = 77.1 " = 4 παλαισταί = 308.3 "

V. 16. Εὐθυντηρίαν, and v. 19, ὀρθοστάτας. The εὐθυντηρία was the base of the wall—the connecting member between the wall and the foundation. The course of ὀρθοστάται rested upon this base and was higher than the regular courses of the wall above—hence its

name. This arrangement was usual in the wall construction of the best period of Greek architecture. (See Durm: Die Baukunst der Griechen, p. 56.)

V. 23. Μέτωπον means properly "the space between the eyes" (Liddell and Scott). Here it is applied to the narrow but deep pillar between the doors of the arsenal.

V. 26.  $\Pi \lambda \iota \nu \theta i \sigma \iota \nu$ . Cf. C. I. G. t. I, p. 273, where  $\pi \lambda \iota \nu \theta o \iota$  is used in the same sense of blocks of about the same size for the walls of the Erechtheion. (Foucart.)

V. 48. Μεσόμνας. Cross beams extending from column to column over the middle aisle. (Akin to μεσόδμη—Foucart.)

V. 49. Κορυφαΐα. The main roof beams (arbalétriers), extending from the ridge of the roof to the cornice on either side, over each pair of columns. At the ridge, the κορυφαΐα were supported by ὑποθήματα (v. 51) resting upon the μεσόμναι beams, and they were braced by ties, κερκίδες (v. 52) extending to the μεσόμναι. (Foucart.)

V. 51. \*Ανευ τῆς καταφορᾶς. I cannot interpret this expression satisfactorily in connection with the κορυφαῖα. It may refer to a dowel-joint at either end of the κορυφαῖον, to fix it upon the ὑπόθημα or to the bedding timber (?) over the cornice.¹

V. 53. Σφηκίσκους. Longitudinal beams of the roof frame, resting upon the κορυφαΐα. Fr. pannes. (Foucart.)

V. 55. 'Ιμάνταs. Covering planks crossing the σφηκίσκουs in the same direction as the κορυφαΐα. For the superimposed transverse position of the σφηκίσκοι and the Ιμάντες, see C. I. G. I, p. 281 and p. 269, fig. 15 (Foucart).

V. 57. Καλύμματα. Strips (lattes) to support the tiles (Foucart).

V. 58. Δορώσας. This word is not given in Liddell and Scott. Its sense appears clearly, however, from C. I. A. II 167, l. 68 and 73, δορώσει πήλω ήχυρωμένω πάχος τριδακτύλω. (Foucart.) Here it refers, probably, to some application in the nature of pitch or tar, intended to preserve the frame of the roof from decay.

V. 65. Τὰς ὀροφάς. This word can hardly be taken in any other sense here and below than "flooring" or "platform."

<sup>1</sup> In some of the Sicilian temples, at least, and at Aigina, the lower ends of the roof-beams appear to have rested directly upon the cornice-blocks, in which a continuous groove (or perhaps a socket for each beam-end) was cut to receive them. See *Programm zum Winckelmannsfeste*, 1881, Tafel II, and Durm's *Baukunst der Griechen*, plate opposite p. 104.

<sup>2</sup> Professor Gildersleeve kindly calls to my attention that  $\delta o\rho \delta \omega$  according to its formation would seem to mean "to furnish with a  $\delta o\rho \delta$  or skin—to sheathe."

V. 79. 'Απὸ τῆς κάτω ὀροφῆς μέχρι τῆς ἄνω ὀροφῆς. The lower flooring of the side aisles covered the whole space from the barriers between the columns to the exterior walls. It was raised about two feet above the level of the pavement of the middle aisle (v. 72-74). I should propose for ή ἄνω ὀροφή the following arrangement. At the necessary intervals in each intercolumniation were placed upright wooden supports, λκριωτήρεs, four feet from the wall, and sufficiently high to admit of convenient passage beneath the flooring beams, διερείσματα, which extended from their extremities to the side walls. Upon the flooring beams were placed timbers, θράνοι, extending the whole length of the building, one next the wall, and the other over the lkplwrippes. Finally, planks four feet long and three feet wide were fitted carefully upon the θράνοι, and nailed down, forming a broad shelf along the long sides of the arsenal. Four feet above this shelf was a tier of cross beams, μεσόμναι (v. 77), extending from the columns to the side walls, and designed as supports for storing the ὑποζώματα of the ships, and similar tackle. Five feet above this tier of cross beams was a second tier provided for the same purpose. The windows (v. 35) were probably above the second tier of supports, and about twenty feet above the ground.

V. 85. Κιβωτούς. The chests were probably placed one against the wall in each space between two columns, and one against each column except the end columns of each row, which, as we have seen (v. 25), were more properly pilasters than columns, as the wall of each front was carried in to meet them.

V. 93. This provision for the ventilation of the arsenal by leaving openings at the joints of the wall blocks would form an interesting parallel to the similar openings existing in the lower courses of the Erechtheion. These are, however, pronounced modern by the latest authorities. (See R. Borrmann in the *Mittheilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Institutes in Athen* for 1881, Viertes Heft.)

From a careful view of the evidence direct and indirect bearing upon the question, M. Foucart concludes that this inscription containing the specifications for the construction of the Arsenal of Philon, was engraved in 346 B. C., and that work was begun upon it during that same year, and continued until the administration of Euboulos, in 339. After an interruption of considerable length, building was resumed under the administration of Lykourgos, and the great arsenal was finished in 329 or 328. Philon lived to see

the completion of the work; for, according to Vitruvius, he was still alive in the time of Demetrios Phalereus, who employed him to add a colonnade to the temple of Demeter at Eleusis.

A question of great interest in connection with this inscription upon which I have not yet touched, is that of topography. Arsenal of Philon stood "in Zeia" (v. 4); and the inscription was found among some ruins near the shore of the harbor which has been identified as the ancient Zea by prominent German scholars. Mr. Meletopoulos considers,3 therefore, that the discovery of the inscription confirms this identification of the harbor, and the proposed position of the Hippodameian Agora, and throws light upon other dependent questions relating to Peiraic topography. Mr. Meletopoulos, however, says nothing to prove that the inscription was found upon the site where it was set up originally, and that it may not have been brought from elsewhere in subsequent times.4 He says that near the finding place of the inscription have been dug up at various times fragments of unfluted columns, capitals of Peiraic limestone, and a piece of wall running parallel to the shore line, and built of blocks of Peiraic limestone. It is noticeable that according to the inscription the capitals of the columns of the arsenal were to be, not of limestone, but of Pentelic marble (v. 45). If, therefore, the specifications were carried out strictly, the capitals found cannot have belonged to the arsenal. The remains of the wall do not, taken alone, add much weight to the identification of the site, as by far the largest proportion of the ancient walls of the Peiraieus were built of Peiraic limestone. Further excavation and a careful investigation must therefore be made, before we can be sure that the ruins referred to are those of the arsenal. The question ought not to be difficult to settle, in view of the minute details

<sup>1</sup> Vitruvius, VII, Praef., II.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Paul Foucart, in the Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique for July, 1882, p. 555.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Ανέκδοτος ἐπιγραφή, etc., p. 8.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup>I give the following extract from a letter from a friend in Athens, dated August 27, 1882:

<sup>&</sup>quot;Nothing decisive can be said of the position in which the inscription in question was found. All that I can gather is, that the usual professional searchers for antiquities—mostly men of very questionable character, who go to work secretly excavating tombs and anything that promises to reward their pains—dug up the tablet, as they say, from the neighborhood of the harbor known in literary circles as Zea, and offered it for sale to its present owner, Mr. Meletopoulos."

and measurements given by the inscription of many architectural members of the building. If these ruins can be proved to be those of the arsenal, or if the inscription can be shown to have been found in or near its original position, the neighboring harbor will be identified without doubt as the ancient Zea; but until this is shown, there are, in my opinion, with all deference to the high German authorities to whom I have alluded, strong reasons for identifying the harbor in question with the ancient harbor of Mounychia. Not the least weighty of these reasons is the strong presumption that the 'Arti and the Mounvaia of the ancients were merely different names for the same promontory; while the southern extremity of the Peiraic peninsula is identified certainly as 'Arti, and traces of the ancient quarries exist still there.

THOMAS W. LUDLOW.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> For texts tending to show this, see Curt von Wachsmuth: Die Stadt Athen im Alterthum, p. 316, and p. 317 and note 6. Cf. Pausanias, I 1, 4; Herodotus, VIII 76, and Wachsmuth, p. 307, note 6.

#### V.—ETYMOLOGICAL STUDIES.

T

Mulciber, mulcere, marcus, marcere, μαλαχός. Murcea, murcus, murceus, murcidus, μίμαρχος.<sup>1</sup>

The name of Vulcan which stands first among the words that head this article seems to have roused the curiosity of the Romans themselves. In an inscription<sup>2</sup> "Volcano miti sive Mulcibero L. Vettius," it is taken to be a euphemistic or propitiatory way of deprecating the fierce ravages of fire: compare Educulos. Festus s. v. says 'Mulciber Volcanus a molliendo ferro dictus,' and he is followed by Corssen, who connects it with mulceo in the same sense of 'softening' the iron, translating it 'schmelzbringer' and comparing the Sanskrit mṛiç touch.

On the first of these derivations we must remark that we shall find 'soothing, treating gently' to be a late meaning of *mulceo*, whereas *Mulciber* has every appearance of being a very old word (cf. infra). On the second, that this meaning of '*melting*' does not seem to be established for the root.

It cannot be denied, however, that there is a connexion between *Mulciber* and *mulcere*, so that we must examine what primitive notion that verb points us to.

Now, very fortunately, we have enough passages left us to determine the original meaning of *mulcere*, one very different from its later one, yet allied to it. I shall arrange the illustrations in order, beginning with the latest. Thus we have in 4

Ovid Fasti 1, 259 mulcere barbam = stroke his beard.

Ovid Fast. 5, 161 frigidus Argestes summas mulcebit aristas = brush the ears.

Cic. Arat. 88 mulcens tremebundis aera pinnis = whisking the air.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> In this paper, I have for the sake of convenience given the roots in the old Schleicherian forms.

<sup>2</sup> Orelli, 1382.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Ausspr. I<sup>2</sup> 166.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> I ought to state that in some of the passages there are various readings, due no doubt to the unusual meaning of the word, but I see that the readings which I have given for the Lucr. and the Cic. have the weight of Mr. Munro's authority (note on Lucr. 1. c.)

Lucr. 4, 138 nubes concrescere in alto cernimus et mundi speciem violare sereni, aera mulcentes motu = tossing the air (violare suggests more force than in the last example); and finally

Ennius ap. Priscian 9, 870 (Vahlen 257) mulserat huc navem compulsam fluctibu' pontus = had beaten, struck the ship.

Thus we see that originally *mulcere* meant the same as *mulcare* to beat, or strike. We may compare for the change of meaning the German *streichen*, to 'strike,' or 'stroke,' and 'strike' and 'stroke' themselves.

Now we might at once derive *Mulciber* from *mulcere* or *mulcare* in the sense of 'blow-causing,' 'striker,' 'hammerer'. And the derivation would be quite unexceptionable; for -ber<sup>2</sup> can be used for 'causing' as in *lugu-bri-s* 'causing grief.' But I think we can go back further still. The analogy of *fulcio* and *farcio* <sup>3</sup> suggests that the root *mulc* is weakened from an earlier and stronger form *marc* <sup>4</sup> with the same meaning as *mulc*; and *Corssen* has seen that this is the case in proposing to connect it with the Sanskrit *març* which is referred by *Curtius* <sup>5</sup> with more probability to other words.

An intermediate step malc is seen in the Greek μάλκη, the Parian name for "a chopping block," Hesych.; for the meaning we may compare marc-ulu-s, which shows the active side of 'striking.' Marculus a 'hammer' is a diminutive from marcus for which we have the evidence of Isidore Origin. 19, 7, 2 "malleus vocatur quia dum quid calet et molle est caedit et producit: marcus malleus maior et dictus quod maior sit ad caedendum (!): marcellus mediocris: marculus malleus pusillus"; and also of Festus s. v. marculus, "Marculus diminutivum a marco." For an account of these various hammers see Rich, Dictionary of Antiquities s. vv. and the drawings there. The following are the definitions he gives of them: Malleus (3) "a large mallet used by

<sup>1</sup> The idea that mulserat is from mulgeo here is absurd.

<sup>9</sup> See Corssen I. c.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> The connexion of these words has been established in an appendix to my edition of select elegies of Propertius.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup>This root mark is an expansion by k of the root MAR which Max Müller has discussed so fully (Science of L. II 314 foll.)

<sup>5</sup> Curt. Grundz.5 463 (II 61, Eng. tr.).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> I have little doubt that a marculus has been omitted between mediocris and marculus, so that we should read 'marcellus mediocris (marculus): marculus malleus pusillus.' For it seems impossible to suppose that the marcellus was larger than the marculus.

smiths at the anvil, the head of which was either formed entirely of iron or of wood bound with iron." Marculus "a smith's hammer; and, as the word is a diminutive, it will represent one of the smaller kinds used with one hand." Marcus "a large iron-headed hammer used by smiths such as we call a sledge hammer." This word marcus meant originally the 'striker'; and so the 'hammerer' or 'hammer.' In the general sense of 'hammer' it was, however, early replaced by its diminutive marc-ulu-s-a very common occurrence in language, and especially common in the case of names of tools, vessels, etc., e. g. in anulus, circulus, trulla and others-and it was itself confined to the meaning of large hammer or sledge hammer, in fact to the hammer par excellence. Thus the marcus became especially distinctive of the smith, and in particular of the smith of smiths, the fire-god Vulcan. Mulci-ber then, his attribute, represents him as the 'hammer-bearer,' and is best illustrated by an ancient gem1 called Vulcanus taediger where the god appears with a large hammer in his right hand and a torch in his left. It may perhaps be advanced against this connexion that in other compounds the suffix -ber means rather 'causing' than 'carrying' or 'holding.' But we must remember that the original signification was 'carrying, bearing,' not 'causing,' and that so it would be rather matter of surprise if the original meaning were preserved in no word, than that it is preserved only in one, and further that the neuter words vela-bru-m, candela-bru-m, etc., do give this meaning of 'bearing, holding,' in the shorter form -bro. Again the antiquity of the name, to which I have already adverted, must not be disregarded in discussing this question. The form -ber carries us back to the period before BH had become b in the middle and f at the beginning of words, when the root BHAR, bear, still retained its aspirate. Subsequently, when the BH split into initial f and medial b, the bh in bhar became b even in compounds, if the consciousness of the composite character of the word had been obscured. And this was the case with Mulciber. For it was a proper name, and, as such, followed the law of language, the existence of which Max Müller 2 has established, that proper names soon lose their connotation and merely indicate or denote persons, etc., without reference to their qualities. Men ceased to think of the word Mulciber as a compound indicating an attribute of Vulcan,

<sup>1</sup> Mus. Florent. Gemm. III, xl. 3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Science of Language II ix. and following.

and treated it accordingly as a simple word which simply denoted him. Contrast with this name Mulciber the epithet caducifer, which was formed at a much later time, to denote a foreign attribute of a god. To return to marcus the striker. It suggests at once the praenomen Marcus and tempts us to explain it as the striker, the smith.1 But it is perhaps safer to explain it with Zehetmayr, Wörterb. s. v. as a 'weakling.' Compare Flaccus and see below. The English *smooth*, which originally meant soft = Germ. geschmeidig, shows an analogy to a word derived from our root. This is μαλακός,2 the original form of which is μαλκ-ό-ς, preserved in the gloss of Hesychius μαλκόν, μαλακόν. The a is epenthetic as Curtius rightly observes. So that  $\mu a \lambda a \kappa \delta s$  and smooth both meant originally 'beaten' or 'forged soft.'

Marceo, too, may be put here. Its fundamental meaning is not so much to 'begin to die' or to 'decay' as to 'become soft, flabby, squashy, to begin to rot,' which is the sign of decay. Thence in a metaphorical sense to become *feeble*, *languid*. A few examples are marcentes uvae, grapes on the turn, marcentes silvae, marcentia guttura, of the flabby throat of an aged ram, Ov. Met. 7, 314; marcens stomachus, a languid appetite, marcere luxuria (compare άβρός, μαλακός, mollis), to languish in luxury, marcens animus conjoined with corpus torpens.

Other words which show the root are

Murcus 'a coward,' (cf. mollis from the simple root MAR).

Murcei vwbeis gloss.

Murcidus 'slothful,' Plautus Epidicus III 1, 12, all of which show u for a, as is also seen in *Murcia*, an old name of Venus, Varro Ling. Lat. 5, 154, Fest. p. 148 Müller, etc.; representing her as 'breaking' or subduing and enervating the minds of men. The spelling Murtea is probably due to a popular etymology from myrtus (murtus).

Finally, one word shows the root reduplicated, viz. Mi-µapk-vs a dish of hashed hare.8

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> I do not wish to raise the question of a connexion between smith and smite, See Skeat, Eng. Etym. Dict. s. vv.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Curt. Grundz.<sup>5</sup> 327 (No. 457) treats it somewhat differently.

<sup>3</sup> Düntzner (Kuhn's Zeitschrift 14, 196) also connects mulcare with mollis and mulier.

Σίβυλλα.1

The ancients explained this word to be  $\Delta\iota\delta_s$   $\beta o\nu\lambda\dot{\eta}$ . A modification of this derivation, removing some of the difficulties that attend it, is adopted by Pott<sup>2</sup> and C. Alexandre.<sup>3</sup> They take it to be a compound of  $\sigma\iota\delta_s$  ( $\theta\epsilon\delta_s$ ) and  $\beta\delta\lambda\lambda\alpha$  ( $\beta o\nu\lambda\dot{\eta}$ ). To say nothing of the improbability that a syllable and that an accented one ( $\Sigma\iota\delta-\beta o\lambda\lambda\alpha$ ) should have been lost, or of the very artificial meaning—'will of God'—which is quite unsuitable to so old a word, the derivation must be summarily set aside for assuming it to be a compound of words belonging to two different dialects,  $\sigma\iota\delta s$  being La-conian and  $\beta\delta\lambda\lambda\alpha$  Aeolic.

The termination  $-\nu\lambda\lambda a$  in  $\Sigma i\beta\nu\lambda\lambda a$  may be compared with that of  ${}^{\sigma}H\rho-\nu\lambda\lambda a$ ,  $\Theta\rho i\sigma-\nu\lambda\lambda o-s$ ,  $\Delta i\rho\kappa-\nu\lambda\lambda a$ . It is probably for  $\nu\lambda \nu a$  by progressive assimilation, so that  $\Sigma i\beta-\nu\lambda-\lambda a^4$  is from a stem  $\sigma i\beta-\nu\lambda o$  (cf.  $\kappa i\rho-\nu\lambda o-s$ , etc.) + fem. suffix  $\nu a$ .

The root would appear to be  $\sigma \iota \beta$ , for which we shall expect to find in Greek the alternative form  $\iota \beta$ , as the initial spirant is usually lost, though sometimes retained. This form  $\iota \beta$  is found in Hesychius  $\iota \beta \eta \nu \circ \iota^{\iota} \nu \circ \epsilon \rho \circ \iota^{\iota}$  in which the same suffix appears as in  $\dot{a} - \mu \epsilon \nu - \eta \nu \circ - \epsilon$ ,  $\sigma \kappa \alpha \lambda - \eta \nu \circ - \epsilon$ . The root sib ( $\sigma \iota \beta \iota \beta$ ) may be traced in Latin too in the old words sibus Fest. 16 (Müller, p. 148), 'callidus sive acutus, persibus Fest. s. v., and Plaut. and Naev. quoted by him there, persibe perite Varro L. L. 6, 6.

This root sib may be further connected with the root SAP to be wise, found in sap-io  $\sigma \circ \phi - \delta - s$ , etc., the A being weakened to i and the P to b.

 $\Sigma i\beta - \nu\lambda - \lambda a$  then will mean the 'wise woman,' or perhaps the 'little wise woman,' the suffix  $-\nu\lambda a$  being used, as is not unfrequent, in a diminutive sense. And the Sibyl will be so named because she knows the sacred secrets of destiny. The transition of meaning

<sup>1</sup>This article, which, like the rest of this paper, I have had in MS. since 1877-8, was written in ignorance of Max Müller's discussion of the word (Lectures I 95) and the remarks of Böttger thereon (cited by Vaniček, Wörterb. s v.). I have however left it as it stands, as besides being an independent treatment, it adds some fresh particulars to the discussion. Max Müller's sapius sabius does not suit the conditions nearly as well as sibus, Osc. sipus.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Zeitschrift VI 133 sqq.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Alexandre, Excursus in Sibyllina, p. 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Max Müller (l. c. infr.) thinks that Sibylla was an Italian word originally. This is certainly possible; but there are the two following objections. Sibulla is not, I believe, found in any Italian dialect, the Roman writers borrowing it from the Greek, and the v in Σίβυλλα is a genuine Greek weakening.

may be compared with that in witch and wizard by Anglo-Saxon witan to know, and the Latin såga compared with prae-sag-us, praesag-io.

Some other proper names probably come from the same root,

 $\Sigma \iota \beta - \nu \rho - \tau a - s$ ,  $\Sigma \iota \beta - \nu \rho - \tau o - s$  and  $\Sigma \iota \beta \nu - \tau \iota - o s$ .

## Flagitare.

This word is derived by Corssen' from a root BHRAG to shine or burn, seen in flag-rare, etc., so that it means to 'desire hotly.' This does not suit the uses of flagitare which express the forcing of one's desire upon others rather than the feeling of it oneself. The word means 'to demand earnestly, to be clamorous for a thing,' rather than 'to be hot for it.' It seems better then to look for other words that may be related. Such we find in flag-rum, flag-ellu-m; flig-o, pro-flig-are, Gothic bliggvan, beat. The root is BHLAG and its meaning to 'beat.'

Flag-ita-re then is a frequentative meaning to 'beat frequently,' press, importune: compare obtundo and Virg. Aen. IV 447 haud secus adsiduis hinc atque vocibus heros tunditur, i. e. by Anna's

importunate prayers.

For this, the original meaning of the word, inter cutem flagitatus Festus p. 82 (Müller 4, note), compared with the equivalent intra cutem caesus Tertull. Pall. 4 is decisive.

# Formido, χάρμη, er χήρ, χαράσσω, etc.

Corssen<sup>2</sup> derives formido from a root DHAR to make fast, and explains it as "die festhaltende unbewegliche Macht der Furcht," quoting in support of his view the definition of formido as metus permanens Cic. Tusc. IV 8, 19. He forgets however that the permanence of the fear is expressed in the suffix -ido (which, as in cupido lubido, denotes a state of feeling); and he gives no instance of root DHAR being used in this meaning.

Before offering another connexion, I must notice one or two slight clues that some uses of *formido* supply. It is used with *horribilis* Cic. Fin. 1, 19, 63 *horribiles formidines*; Virgil Georg. 4, 468 has caligantem nigra *formidine* lucum, which points to shuddering awe; and its use as a 'scarecrow' may perhaps be partly determined by the fluttering of the feathers of the scarecrow as well as by the purpose it was intended to serve. Is it too meta-

physical to suppose that the *tremulus horror* of the branches Ov. Met. 9, 345 is also included in the expression? Probably it was the observation of these and similar passages that led Freund¹ to his conjecture that *formido* was connected with *horreo*. I shall try to show that this conjecture is on grounds of sound and of sense unexceptionable.

Horreo is for hors-e-o, and its root is GHARS which is seen in Sanskr. hrish (for harsh)<sup>2</sup> to bristle, become erect (of hair), cf. harsha bristling of the hair, but generally joy. GHARS is probably expanded by s from a simpler root GHAR, for which see below.

Now f may represent original GH in Latin; indeed both f and h are frequently found together in the same word as representatives of the original aspirate. Examples are haedus, hariolus, hordeum, hostis, holus, etc., so that there is no improbability in supposing horreo and formido to come from the same root GHARS. Lastly an s may have fallen out between the r and m in formido; though it is also possible that the word may have been formed from the unexpanded root GHAR.

The original meaning of horrere was plainly to 'bristle' or to 'stand on end.' If there was ever a verb \*formire, as Corssen thinks, it meant 'to be bristling or have one's hair standing on end'; and so formido would mean fear, the mental state which induces these corporeal manifestations.<sup>3</sup>

In the case of this root, as also in that of asper (for aster), Lith. asztrus, Ch. Sl. ostrŭ sharp, we have the notions of 'pricking, prickly, rough' passing into each other. The shortest form in which it appears is GHAR, with the meanings to 'prick,' 'tear,' 'scratch' of sharp things.'

We find it in the following words:

Χαράσσω (for χαρ-ακ-yω), in which the root is expanded by -aκ, to make pointed or sharp, to tear or scratch.

<sup>1</sup> Lat. Wörterb. s. v.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>Generally meaning to rejoice. The double signification runs through the derivatives.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> The erection of the hair, if we are to trust the evidence of language, and there is no reason why it should lie, seems to be by no means confined to states of terror, but to be characteristic of excitement generally. Mr. Verrall reminds me of the curious word  $\dot{δ}ρσολοπείω$  (-έω) apparently from  $\dot{δ}ρσόξ$ , λοπόξ (cf.  $\dot{δ}ρσόθριξ$ ). The Skt. hrish shows it for joy, and Darwin's Expression of Emotions, p. 24, mentions it in anger.

<sup>4</sup> This root is treated, though inadequately, by Vaniček, Wörterb. 253.

Χάραξ, from the same stem χαρακ- (compare φύλαξ by φυλάσσω) in the sense of 'anything with a point, anything that can tear,' a stake, etc. Cf. Hesychius χάρακες τάφρος καὶ ἀκανθώδη φυτὰ καὶ οἱ κάλαμοι.

Χαρία (χαρ-ί-α) βουνός Hesych. Compare ἄκ-ρα from root AK, to be sharp.

Χαράδρα (χαρ-άδ-ρα) a ravine or rent in a hill.

Χάρνβδις (χάρ-νβ-δ-ι-s) is similarly a yawning gulf. It comes from a stem χαρνβ- with parasitic  $\delta$ , compare χαλ-νβ-δ-ικό-s from χαλ-νβ-, μόλ-νβ-δο-s by the side of μόλ-νβ-οs and Curtius Grundz. 654 (II 299, Eng. tr).

Χάλυψ (χάλ-υβ-s) 'steel' itself is from the same stem  $\chi a\rho$ -υβ-, but the  $\rho$  is weakened to  $\lambda$ .

Χαρτός (χαρ-τό-ς) βακτηρία, Hesych. For the meaning we may compare Aristoph. στιζόμενος βακτηρία.

Χάρτης (χάρ-τη-ς) may be compared also with some probability in the sense of the 'torn off sheets of the papyrus.'

Χηραμός (χηρ-αμό-ς) a 'hole scratched in the ground,' shows the vowel as η. Hesychius gives also χάραμος ἡ τῆς γῆς διάστασις οἶον χηραμός.

In the following words the same root is to be observed redu-

plicated:

Κάρχαρος<sup>8</sup> (κάρ-χαρ-ο-ς) 'sharp, pointed, jagged,' Alcman, etc.: derivatives of which are καρχαρίας, a kind of shark; καρχαρόδους, 'sharp-fanged.'

Kaρχαλέος (καρ-χαλ-έο-s) shows also the  $\rho$  weakened to  $\lambda$  and resembles in its meanings the Latin asper, both in that of 'rough with thirst' = Virg. siti asper, and metaphorically in that of 'roughness of temper,' 'fierceness.' The same word appears with a slightly different meaning in

 $K\epsilon\rho\chi\alpha\lambda\dot{\epsilon}os$  'rough, hoarse,' which connects closely with some words that show the reduplication in a mutilated form  $\kappa\epsilon\rho\chi$ , such as:

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Χοιράς a sharp reef for χορ-γ-αδ-ς also may be compared. For the epenthesis cf. χοῖρος below.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Χαλκός (χαλ-κο-ς) and χάλυψ are more naturally referred to this root than to GHAR, shine, from which Vaniček derives them (p. 244).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> So already Benfey, W. I 203.

<sup>4</sup> I cannot share Fritzsche's doubts, Curt. Stud. 6, 293.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> See the instances referred to by *Curtius*, Index, under head 'Broken Reduplication'; gurg-es, root GAR, is one of them.

Κέρχνος (κέρχ-νο-ς) 'roughness,' -ός 'rough'; κέρχνω 'be rough,' etc. There is one word containing the simple form of the root which must be examined more minutely.

 $X \acute{a} \rho \mu \eta$  is a case where two distinct words from different roots have been confused.  $X \acute{a} \rho \mu \eta$  from root GHAR, to rejoice, has been confused with  $\chi \acute{a} \rho \mu \eta$  from root GHAR, prick or tear.

Χάρμη (A) in the first sense is undoubtedly found in Pind. Ol. 9, 129. A confusion with χάρμη (B) or an attempt to make one sound combine two meanings is found in II. 13, 82,  $\chi$  άρμη  $\chi$  η θ ό συνοι where  $\chi$ άρμη is chiefly martial spirit.

Χάρμη (B) from root GHAR 'to prick, tear' means properly 'pricker': so (1) a spear-point, Stesich. 92 (89), Ibyc. 58 (53). (2) battle, fight, as tearing flesh and shields. Cf. Hom. χρόα ῥήξαντες—δηοῦντες βοείας. Then, chiefly through the influence of phrases like χάρμης λελάθοντο, μνήσαντο, (3) desire for fight—spirit of battle, as in Il. l. c. and Il. 13, 104 ἀνάλκιδες οὐδ' ἔπι χάρμη, the concrete being put for the abstract. Compare our English expression 'he has no fight left in him,' and the Latin certamen.<sup>1</sup>

The other derivations do not satisfy the meanings of the word. Curtius connects it with root GHAR, 'glow,' in the sense of the 'heat of the struggle'; this does not account for B(1). Liddell and Scott's derivation of it from  $\chi al\rho \omega$ , 'the stern joy that warriors feel,' is quite unsuited to the Homeric combatants.

### Incohare, cohum.

The shifting of the h in incohare from the end to the beginning of the syllable is probably due in part to the influence of the absurd derivation from chaos, and in part to the tendency to aspirate mutes followed immediately by a vowel, which was an affection of the later Latin speech. The order of the forms is incohare, incoare, inchoare. We have the same order in cohors, coors, cors, chors. We must start then with the form incohare and cast about for some word connected with it. Cohum is one which at once suggests itself.

Now there are two old words which both appear in Festus s. v. (Müller, p. 31) as cohum. The glosses are:

(A) cohum poetae caelum dixerunt a chao ex quo putabant caelum esse formatum.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Tantum certamen animorum imbiberant, Livy 2, 58, 6. The use is characteristic of simple thought and the picturesque style.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Compare Döderlein, Syn. III 158 n.

(B) cohum lorum quo temo buris cum iugo colligatur, a cohibendo dictum.

In (A) the h is probably due to the derivation from chaos or to confusion with (B). An older form which is found in Ennius is coum. Coum has lost a v and is connected, as Dacier has seen, with caelum (for cavilum) and cavus, so that coum caeli (Enn.) means the hollow vault of the sky.

In *cohum* (B) there is no trace of an earlier form. Thus, so far as the form goes, it may be connected with *incohare*. We must next examine the meaning.

Incohare does not mean nearly so much as incipere. It is rather 'to set about' a thing than 'to take it in hand' (incipere); it is opposed to perficere, while incipere is the opposite of desinere. This rudimentary beginning, this bare promise of completion is well expressed by the metaphor, 'to put the cohum or yoke-strap on the plough.' The plough is not in the furrow, the cattle even are not in the yoke, and the only sign of the ploughing to come is the pole with its yoke-strap attached. Metaphors from ploughing are not unfrequent among the agricultural Romans: compare exarare, delirare, cussiliris.

Our next endeavor will be to find words in other languages with which *cohum* is connected. The h points to an aspirate and a root KAGH or KAKH, a parallel form to KAK. Cohum coincides strikingly in meaning with the Sanskrit kakshas, which means amongst other things 'a girdle, an elephant's girth.' So kakshā is 'the end of the lower garment tucked into the waistband.' The first meaning of KAK seems to be to 'bind' as Fick (I3 36) gives it. Then it means to 'bend.' So the Eng. 'bind' and 'bend' themselves. Of the meanings given for kaksha m. and n. and kakshā by the P. W. that of 'girdle' comes from its being a 'band'; by an easy transference we get that of 'wall, enclosure,' and metaphorically that of border, bound, or 'orbit.' Then it is used of a 'bend' in the body, the 'armpit.' Perhaps its use for the 'side' is a special development of this as the P. W. takes it; but probably it has also been colored by the meaning of 'bound.' In the moral region 'bendings' mean 'twistings,' pretexts, strophae or 'sin'; compare kankara wicked, kaććara the same. The uses 'like-

<sup>1</sup> Quoted by Müller on Festus, l. c.

<sup>2</sup> Curtius, No. 79. Fick II3 62.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> The meanings of the Skt. kak are, according to the P. W. 'schwanken, unbeständig sein, übermüthig sein, dürsten.'

ness' and 'emulation' seem metaphors from yoking. We are told iungere pares. From 'bend' we get to 'hiding place,' bends, curves and holes affording concealment. Hence kákshas R. V. 10, 28, 4 is a 'hiding place,' and kakshyás, id. 5, 44, 11, probably 'secret.' Compare the P. W. s. v. kakshya, kakshyi, f. (a) girdle, (b) upper garment, border of a garment, (c) surrounding wall, enclosure, (e) similarity, (f) anstrengung, kakshya, n. (a) wagschale, (b) a part of a carriage (wagon).

The same root, see Fick (l. c.) and Diefenbach Gloss. H. 4, p. 494, is very fertile in words denoting parts of the body, amongst which we may mention κοχ-ώνη, where there is no reason to suppose a previous form κοξ-ώνη. It comes straight from the root, whether in the form KAK or KAGH I shall not determine. Both forms will suit it and both have authority. KAK gives Goth. hahan, KAGH O. H. G. etc. hangen, Eng. hang, Lat. cingo, O. H. G. hag, horse. Cohum then means 'yokeband,' and the h is for medial GH, as in traho, veho, etc.

J. P. POSTGATE.

<sup>1</sup> Ar. Equ. 424 is a curious instance of τω κοχώνα being a hiding place.

## REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTICES.

The Medea of Euripides. With an Introduction and Commentary by A. W. Verrall, M. A. London. Macmillan & Co. 1881.

To say that this book deserves a hearty welcome may seem too much to the captious critic—possibly too little to the generous critic. It has good qualities which render it conspicuous among the products of recent scholarship, especially of Anglo-American scholarship. The book shows conscientious and systematic industry, real knowledge of critical method, very uncommon ingenuity. The reader who examines a couple of pages taken at random will find his expectations raised very high. But he will reluctantly find these expectations in some measure disappointed upon careful study of the whole. For although the tools are those of the scientific workman, they sometimes slip strangely as from lack of practice; the very fertility of critical resource sometimes appears as overwrought cleverness missing a plain point; and there is sometimes a certain haziness of feeling about the way things may and may not be said in Greek. But the fulness of examination which I shall try to give the book may be taken as evidence that I do not fail to appreciate its merits.

The Introduction (dated May, 1881) begins with a list of editions chiefly used. The names of Kirchhoff, Weil and Schöne are conspicuous by their absence. Whether the Analecta Euripidea of Wilamowitz have been studied at first hand is not quite clear. It is matter of real regret that V. published too early to have seen Leo's remarks (Hermes, XV 306. See Amer. Jour. of Philol. I 487), to which I shall repeatedly refer. Next follows an attempt to provide a sort of royal road for those who cannot or will not learn by close study what manner of thing a Greek manuscript is. V. gives a bit of Comus, full of imaginary corruptions found in imaginary manuscripts, and then goes through the process of correcting it according to art. The idea is a clever one; but it may be doubted whether such a device can do more than to raise a conceit of knowledge in the indolent. A good photographic facsimile of twenty well chosen lines from the Codex Laurentianus would have been worth far more to real students.

The discussion of the two classes of MSS of Euripides which follows is more important. V. is right out of all question in supporting the high authority of the Laurentianus and Palatinus; but I cannot think he (or anybody else as yet) has fully solved the problem of the relation of these MSS to the Vaticanus. My own provisional view is that the MSS of the "second class" (Laur. and Pal.) are more genuine, though more corrupted by slips and errors; while the Vaticanus has been more corrected out of shape by grammarians. And so far as this statement goes, I understand it to state Verrall's view. But this view will not support the load of inferences which he puts upon it. There is nothing in it to diminish the probability, in any given case of divergence,

that the Vaticanus may have the genuine reading, provided the divergence can be best explained on that theory. Let us look for a moment at one of the passages which V. discusses in this connection. In 668 he thinks ἐστάλης a gloss, Ικάνεις a corruption, and writes ίζάνεις. Το begin with, ἐστάλης is a perfect reading on its own merits. Then V.'s argument, " ἐστάλης is familiar and easy, Ικάνεις poetical and archaic," and again, "whatever else may be said of lκάνεις, no one will take it for an explanation or correction of ἐστάλης," is all wrong. The scholion to this very passage proves that ἐστάλην was not familiar to Byzantine readers; and iκάνω was well known to every Byzantine schoolboy as a part of the antique poetical vocabulary-an admirable word for a gloss. This a man really practised in such matters would know by a sort of instinct; but no doubtful matter could be easier of investigation. For example, it is not hard to examine the other passages of Euripides in which the passive of στέλλω occurs. The first upon which the writer stumbles is Androm. 251. That line, with its variants and glossemata, tells the whole story with curious neatness. Other flaws in the argument of this essay must be passed over. The remaining portions of the Introduction deal with the Story of Medea, the "Two Versions," the Medea of Neophron, the Scenery and Distribution of the Parts.

I shall now ask the reader to accompany me in an examination of most of the passages in which V. prints emendations of his own. In 30 he proposes, 'under reserve," πλην εί ποτε for ην μή ποτε. Here as elsewhere in the play recourse is had to capital letters to show how easily the corruption could have crept in. But in fact the correction is, as a matter of palaeography, very improbable, even with the help of capital letters. And most scholars familiar with the manuscripts of Euripides will probably agree with the reviewer that later forms of Byzantine writing are generally of higher importance in accounting for corruptions. In the present case πλην εί ποτε does not at all give the needed sense; it leaves the connection of thought as absurd as ever. What we want is καὶ δή ποτε; and there is strong reason, apart from the necessary sense, for supposing that Euripides wrote καὶ δή ποτε. The reading of the Laurentianus proves that the on was extant in the archetype of L and P; while the uncertainty of the copyists about the breathing of np points to an archetype which had in without breathing. Now let the reader unfamiliar with manuscripts turn to Bücheler's edition of the Homeric Hymn to Demeter, the edition with the facsimile of the manuscript. There let him compare the kal of v. 90 with the last two letters of θαλερήν, v. 79. In 39 V. objects to ἐγώδα τήνδε on the ground that olda is the wrong verb and τήνδε the wrong pronoun. This is obviously true. By the way, Wecklein's note on this passage is a beautiful specimen of the habit of supporting one construction by citing an example of some other: he cites Phoen. 716, έγφδα κείνους τοῖς λόγοις ὅντας θρασεῖς. But V. urges his objection with strange modesty: (" I would speak with the greatest diffidence of difficulties which others have not found"). Dindorf and Prinz have declared the verse spurious; nor can the condemnation be removed by V.'s change of τήνδε to τηδε. In 123-4 he accepts Barthold's conjecture, έπὶ μη μεγάλοις, but omits the τε of the next line. He says: "όχυρῶς τ' MSS, but the corruption of the previous word accounts readily for the insertion of the copula." But surely the 78 is wholly inconsistent with, and in itself a proof of

the corruption of εἰ μὴ μεγάλως, while in the corrected text there is not the faintest objection to it. This is pointed out by Leo. In 157 κοινὸν τόδε · μὴ χαράσσου is a very simple and complete restoration.

In 182 the change ii  $\tau d\delta^{i}$   $aiv\delta a$  can hardly be considered fortunate. The traditional reading is perfectly sound and has been well explained and sufficiently illustrated by Pflugk and Klotz: the  $\tau d\delta e$  is in antithesis to  $\tau a$   $\epsilon \sigma \omega$ .

23.4 Verrall prints in this form:  $\lambda \alpha \beta \epsilon \bar{\imath} \nu \cdot \lambda \alpha \beta \epsilon \bar{\imath} \nu \gamma \hat{\alpha} \rho \ o\dot{\nu}$ ,  $\tau \delta \delta' \ \dot{\alpha} \lambda \gamma \iota \nu \nu \kappa \alpha \kappa \delta \nu$ . Surely  $\lambda \alpha \beta \epsilon \bar{\imath} \nu \gamma \dot{\alpha} \rho \ o\dot{\nu}$  (=τ $\delta \gamma \dot{\alpha} \rho \ \mu \dot{\gamma} \ \lambda \alpha \beta \epsilon \bar{\imath} \nu \gamma \dot{\alpha} \rho \ o\dot{\nu}$ , τοδ'  $\dot{\alpha} \lambda \gamma \iota \nu \nu \kappa \alpha \kappa \delta \nu$ . Surely  $\lambda \alpha \beta \epsilon \bar{\imath} \nu \gamma \dot{\alpha} \rho \ o\dot{\nu}$  (=τ $\delta \gamma \dot{\alpha} \rho \ \mu \dot{\gamma} \ \lambda \alpha \beta \epsilon \bar{\imath} \nu \gamma \dot{\alpha} \rho \ o\dot{\nu}$ , τοδ'  $\dot{\alpha} \lambda \gamma \iota \nu \nu \kappa \alpha \kappa \delta \nu$ . Surely  $\lambda \alpha \beta \epsilon \bar{\imath} \nu \gamma \dot{\alpha} \rho \ o\dot{\nu}$ , τοδ'  $\dot{\alpha} \lambda \gamma \iota \nu \nu \nu \lambda \alpha \delta \nu \nu$ . Surely  $\lambda \alpha \beta \epsilon \bar{\imath} \nu \gamma \dot{\alpha} \rho \ o\dot{\nu}$ , τοδ'  $\dot{\alpha} \lambda \gamma \iota \nu \nu \lambda \alpha \delta \nu \nu \nu \lambda \alpha \delta \nu \nu$ . Surely  $\dot{\alpha} \lambda \alpha \beta \epsilon \bar{\imath} \nu \gamma \dot{\alpha} \rho \ o\dot{\nu}$ , τοδ'  $\dot{\alpha} \lambda \gamma \iota \nu \nu \lambda \alpha \delta \nu \lambda \alpha \delta \lambda \alpha \delta \nu \lambda \alpha \delta \lambda \alpha$ 

303-5 is a very troublesome passage, and V. does "not pretend to certainty about it." He prints: σοφή γάρ οὖσα, τοῖς μέν εἰμ' ἐπίφθονος, | τοῖς ἡσυχαίοις, τοῖς δὲ θατέρου τρόπου | τοῖς δ' αὐ προσάντης είμὶ κούκ ἀγαν σοφή. This involves considerable changes, and cannot, in spite of all explanation, give an acceptable sense. The real trouble is that the verses are not Euripidean. . Many critics have recognized the fact of interpolation here (Pierson, Brunck, Musgrave Porson, Elmsley, Dindorf, Nauck, Kirchhoff, Hirzel, Prinz, Wecklein, Allen, and I know not how many more); but no one seems to me to have exercised a proper tact in defining its limits. V.'s objections to assuming an interpolation are of no weight as such, but they are decisive against any definition of the spurious matter hitherto proposed. The reviewer believes 302-305 (έγω δέσοφή) to be spurious. The interpolator, in his overweening sapience, thought he might do dull-witted Jason a kindness by pointing out an application for the general principle of 300-301. But in fact the personal application has been already given in 292-3. On this view the reader will see the meaning of d' oùv, 306, and will not be tempted to follow V. in writing av for ovv. It may be remarked here that the manuscript evidence, on which some critics have relied in rejecting 304, really proves nothing whatever.

The treatment of 359-61 is very unsatisfactory. V. gives  $\pi\rhoo\xi\epsilon\nu ia\nu$  in 359 and omits (as others have done)  $\dot{\epsilon}\xi\epsilon\nu\rho\dot{\eta}\sigma\epsilon\iota\varsigma$  of 361. But even if  $\pi\rhoo\xi\epsilon\nu ia\nu$  were the reading of the MSS, we should, on cutting out  $\dot{\epsilon}\xi\epsilon\nu\rho\dot{\eta}\sigma\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ , be warranted in writing  $\pi\rho\dot{o}\xi$   $\xi\epsilon\nu ia\nu$ . And the case is really far stronger than this:  $\pi\rhoo\xi\epsilon\nu ia\nu$  has no authority whatever beyond that of bare conjecture; the diplomatic facts make it certain that not only the Vaticanus, but also the common archetype of the Laurentianus and of the Palatinus, as well as some progenitor of the Parisinus 2713, had  $\pi\rho\dot{o}\xi$   $\xi\epsilon\nu ia\nu$  and nothing else. The reviewer is satisfied that Leo is right in trying to cure the trouble by emendation of  $\dot{\epsilon}\xi\epsilon\nu\rho\dot{\eta}\sigma\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ . His change to  $\dot{\epsilon}\xi\epsilon\nu\rho\dot{\eta}\sigma\epsilon\nu\sigma'$  leaves nothing to be desired.

In 392 V. writes  $\dot{a}\mu\eta\chi avov$  instead of  $\dot{a}\mu\eta\chi avo\varsigma$ . But there is no need of emendation, only of explanation, of a little consideration how  $\dot{a}\mu\eta\chi avo\varsigma$  comes to acquire its derived meaning of *irresistible*. Primarily a thing is  $\dot{a}\mu\eta\chi avo\varsigma$  when it carries no devices with it, when it leaves the person concerned without devices, whether for resistance to itself or for any other suggested purpose.

That is the sense required here: the  $\dot{a}\mu\eta\chi avo\varsigma$   $\sigma v\mu\phi o\rho\dot{a}$  of which Medea is thinking is an exile without promise of any  $\pi \dot{v}\rho\gamma o\varsigma$   $\dot{a}\sigma\phi a\lambda\dot{\eta}\varsigma$ . To find examples of  $\dot{a}\mu\dot{\eta}\chi avo\varsigma$  in its primary sense as applied to things is less difficult than V. supposes: such examples are numerous in Euripides. I will cite only Hec. 1123, for which Verrall's statement of the meaning of the adjective (that against which devices are weak or powerless, hard, irresistible, not to be prevented) is singularly inadequate.

434-7 V. writes as follows: πέτρας, ἐπὶ δὲ ξένα ναίεις χθονί· τᾶς ἀνανδρος κοίτας ὁλέσασα λέκτρων, τάλαινα. To this I will only say that the traditional text, in which I can see no fault, seems to me far simpler, clearer, better both in sense and in grammar. The chorus tell the story of Medea's misfortunes in historical sequence and with something of the effect of rhetorical climax. In delusion of heart she left her father's house and braved the terrors of a frightful journey; she is now a dweller in a land of strangers, where 'she has lost the hope and comfort of her marriage; she is on the verge of exile even from her adopted land.

The reading of 494 is worth a moment's notice. The overwhelming weight of authority is for  $\theta \epsilon \sigma \mu \nu \dot{a} \nu \theta \rho \omega \pi \omega c$ . V. writes  $\theta \epsilon \sigma \mu \dot{c} \dot{a} \nu \theta \rho \omega \pi \omega c$ , because "it is difficult to account for" the variant  $\theta \epsilon \sigma \mu \dot{c} \dot{c} \nu$  unless  $\dot{c} \nu \dot{c} \nu$  be a part of the original reading. But nothing is easier than to account for this variant, if one bears in mind the character of the old grammar-rules. The schoolboy who had to account for the case of  $\dot{a} \nu \theta \rho \omega \pi \omega c$  was expected to say:  $\lambda \epsilon \iota \pi \epsilon \iota \dot{\eta} \dot{\epsilon} \nu$ . Grammatical notes of this sort from the margins of the manuscripts are familiar to readers of scholia.

738–9 V. writes: ψιλὸς γένοι' ἂν κὰπικηρυκεύματα | οὐκ ἀντισοῖο. This is too ingenious. Beside this Leo's ὀκνῶν πίθοιο in 739 seems a remedy as sound as it is simple.

835-45 are treated at length-and very interestingly treated-in an excursus. No passage could be better selected than this to exhibit the editor's great ingenuity. He writes: τοῦ καλλινάου τ' ἀπὸ Κηφισοῦ ῥοᾶς, τὰν Κύπριν κλήζουσιν άφυσσομέναν χώραν καταπλευσαι μετρίοις άνέμων ήδυπνόοις δάροις, αἰεὶ δ' ἐπιβαλλο. μέναν χαίταισιν εὐώδη ῥοδέων πλόκον ἀνθέων τῷ σοφία παρέδρους πέμπειν ἔρωτας, παντοίας ἀρετᾶς ξυνεργούς. This is very clever; the translation and explanation given with it are very attractive; but any cautious critic must hesitate to find it all conclusive. I will offer only one remark: the adjective μετρίοις becomes suspiciously prosaic when made to do duty for the ἀνέμων ὁάροις, nor is it possible here to meet the objection by saying that the adjective belongs in poetic effect with ἀνέμων, as it really does in the properly-constituted text. But the best criticism on V. here consists in quoting Leo, whose critical method in treating both the manuscripts and the poetical conception is far stricter. L. writes: τοῦ καλλινάου τ' ἐπὶ Κηφισοῦ ῥοαῖς τὰν Κύπριν κλήζουσιν ἐφεζομέναν χώραν κάτα πνευσαι μετρίας ἀνέμων ήδυπνόους ἀυρας, αἰεὶ δ' ἐπιβαλλομέναν χαίταισιν εὐώδη ροδέων πλόκον ανθέων τῷ Σοφία παρέδρους πέμπειν "Ερωτας, παντοίας άρετᾶς ξυνεργούς. "Die am Kephisos sitzende Kypris, sich kränzend und Eroten entsendend, ist die Hauptfigur des Gemäldes; in ihrer Begleitung Sophia, mit Eroten zur Seite. Harmonia mit den Musen und die διὰ λαμπροτάτου αἰθέρος wandelnden Athener gruppiren sich von selbst im Geiste des Hörers dazu. Die landschaftlichen Züge (der heilige Boden, die Reinheit der Luft, der Fluss, die lauen

Winde, der Blumenreichtbum) geben den Hintergrund. Man entschlägt sich schwer des Gedankens, dass das Gemälde topographische Grundlage habe; auch Sophokles im Liede auf den Kolonos nennt Musen und Aphrodite im Kephisosgebiete (O. C. 685 ff.), worauf schon Elmsley aufmerksam machte." This does seem to the reviewer thoroughly convincing, with a single exception: the relation of the  ${}^*\text{E}\rho\omega\tau\varepsilon\varsigma$  to the other figures is confused. It is very easy to assume a mistake in the termination of  $\pi\alpha\rho\epsilon\delta\rho\rho\nu\varsigma$ . I should write  $\pi\acute{\alpha}\rho\epsilon\delta\rho\nu$ : the  ${}^*\text{E}\rho\omega\tau\varepsilon\varsigma$ 

go forth with a joint commission from Aphrodite and Sophia.

The treatment of 846-7 is an unfavorable specimen of V.'s skill. He writes: ἱερῷ ποταμῷ ἡ φίλω ἡ πόλις πόμπιμός σε χώρα. Here V. fancies there must be some mystery behind the corrupt reading of the Vaticanus-ή φίλων ή πόλις. But the corruption is of the most simple and usual sort—a transposition of words (helped by the repetition of  $\dot{\eta}$ ) in the archetype of this and other MSS. The reading of Laur. and Pal. is not a "rough remedy to the metre," but the true reading, with a clear and obvious sense. But even if the soundness of this far-fetched method were conceded, we could not accept V.'s result. He regards φίλφ as a "secondary predicate" with ποταμφ "like the participle in οὖ μοι βουλομένω τοῦτο ποιήσεις." To this it is a sufficient objection to say that the position of  $\mathring{\eta}$  is impossible. It is true enough that  $\mathring{\eta}$  takes unusual positions sometimes, but it always heads a clause or precedes a word antithetical to some other word. In dealing with the word  $\pi \delta \mu \pi \iota \mu o \varsigma$ , V. tries to show that it may be exactly covered by the English hospitable-a view not adequately supported by his citations. It cannot be denied, however, that the expression φίλων πόμπιμος calls for some explanation not yet given by the commentators. I conceive that the φίλων can only refer to the Corinthian state. The chorus allude (and only allude) to the certainty of a pursuit which the Athenians will be bound to speed and assist. And I find that Musgrave had at least a similar notion of the needs of the passage. He says: "legendum putem ποίνιμος, ultrix, vindex amicorum." His new coinage was not necessary, but his idea was sound. It may be objected that the allusion suggested is too obscure; but the position of  $\sigma \varepsilon$  is such as to create an antithesis between  $\sigma \varepsilon$  and  $\phi i \lambda \omega \nu$ . The following μετ' ἀλλων is surely very suspicious, but it is hard to take V.'s suggestion of μεταλλῶ seriously. The palaeographic perfection of Elmsley's μεθ' ἀγνῶν is tempting, but misleading. An infinitive in place of these words would improve the passage; but nothing in the ductus litterarum guides me to such an infinitive. The paraphrases of the scholia point not indistinctly to a δέχεσθαι. This would be a perfect reading, and, supposing it genuine, it would be quite possible to account for the corruption; still I am afraid no such reading can ever be proved genuine. A simple and fairly satisfactory remedy would be to write συνούσαν, but I have little faith in it.

856–9 are thus presented: πόθεν θράσος η φρενός η χειρὶ σέθεν τέχναν καρδία τε λήψει δεινὰν προσάγονσα τόλμαν. Here, I think, the τέχναν must be accepted as a genuine restoration; but no explanation can make the pairing of χειρί with καρδία seem tolerable. Kayser's correction (σὰ for τε in 858) is as certain as a correction can be, and gives to the προσάγονσα τόλμαν its indispensable "remoter object."

In 887 V. writes καὶ ξυνυμεναιεῖν καὶ παρεστάναι λέχει. One would like to accept ξυνυμεναιεῖν with the reasoning offered in support of it, but it is impos-

sible. First let us hear V. "The MSS readings are alternative corrections of ξυγγαμείν where ξυμμεναιείν is a corruption, ξυγγαμείν a gloss." . . . "It is utterly improbable that the subtle and significant ξυγγαμεῖν is the unprompted invention of a copyist." But the hard fact is, that ξυγγαμεΐν is the reading of the Laurentianus, ξυμπεραίνειν of all the other manuscripts; and the agreement of the Palatinus with the Vaticanus practically proves the conclusion that ξυγγαμείν never had a place in any text older than the Laurentianus—that it is a corruption due solely to the copyist who wrote that manuscript. It is most likely that the archetype had the ξυγγαμείν in the form of a gloss; but the Palatinus proves conclusively that the regular reading of this same archetype was ξυμπεραίνειν. But let us assume for the moment that ξυγγαμεῖν once existed as a gloss in the archetypes of all existing MSS. What word did it explain? It would be a very bad explanation, at least in its ancient sense, for ξυνυμεναίειν. Perhaps not very much better, but surely quite as good, for ξυμπεραίνειν. Finally, ξυνυμεν αίειν gives a rhythm which is hardly admissible for the Medea.

In 890 V. writes  $\chi p \eta$  'ξομοιοῦσθαι, finding in this the common origin of all the readings of the MSS. I cannot agree with him. It is plain that the archetypal manuscripts of both classes gave  $\chi p \eta v$ . The reading of the Vaticanus,  $\dot{\epsilon}\chi p \eta v$  o'  $\dot{\epsilon}\xi o \mu o i \bar{\nu} \delta u o i$  must have originated as a suprascript explanation in plain prose for the  $\chi p \eta v$  o'  $\dot{\nu} \mu o i \bar{\nu} \delta u o i$  of the text. The much-vexed 910 appears in this form:  $\dot{\nu} \delta u \rho i v o i$  or  $\dot{\nu} \delta u \rho i v o i$  of the text. The translation: For it is natural for the sex to show ill humor against a spouse when he traffics in contraband love. But I think Prinz's statement, nondum emendatus, must still stand.

914-15 V. writes ὑμῖν δέ, παῖδες, οὐκ ἀφρόντιστος πατήρ, | πολλὴ δ' ἐθ' ἡξει σὺν θεοῖς σωτηρία. This must be greeted as a very beautiful restoration—methodical, precise, complete, convincing.

Again at 942 V.'s proceeding is highly satisfactory. Bettering a hint given by Prinz, he changes  $\pi a \tau \rho \delta \varsigma$  into  $\pi \acute{a} \rho o \varsigma$  without other change, omitting, of course, 943.

In 983-4 V. gives  $\pi \ell \pi \lambda ov$  and  $\sigma \tau \ell \phi \dot{\alpha} vov$ —a departure, I think, though a trifling one, from strict method.

The treatment of 1076-7—oin ker' eiu i  $\pi po\sigma \beta \lambda \ell \pi ev$  oia  $\tau'$   $i\theta'$   $iu\bar{a}\varsigma$ —is sober and sound, where previous editors have been content with seeing each some insufficient bit of the obvious and simple truth.

In 1087-8 V. prints  $\pi a \bar{\nu} \rho o \nu \delta \dot{\epsilon}$ ,  $\tau \dot{\iota}$   $u \dot{\eta}$ ,  $\gamma \dot{\epsilon} \nu o c$ , a change which will probably find few friends. V. should not have cited Soph. Ai. 668 in support of his  $\tau \dot{\iota}$   $u \dot{\eta}$ . The words stand there, but hardly in the sense of  $\tau \dot{\iota}$   $\gamma \dot{\alpha} \rho$   $o \dot{\nu}$ . A very simple correction occurs to me, though I cannot find that any critic has suggested it:  $\pi a \dot{\nu} \rho o \nu \delta' \dot{\epsilon} \tau \iota \dot{\delta} \dot{\eta} \gamma \dot{\epsilon} \nu o c$ . To this there is an obvious, but I believe not a serious objection. The idea suggested seems on the whole natural and appropriate, and the corruptions of the MSS are of a character to compel consideration of this reading.

In 1174 we find again a masterly correction—ὁμμάτων τ' ἀνω. About this reading the reviewer has been at the pains to consult an experienced physician, who explains that upward rolling of the eyeballs is not at all a characteristic "symptom of fainting" (so V.), though a very marked symptom of convulsion.

But it is ungrateful to pick small flaws in the explanation of so fine an emendation.

1183–4 V. writes:  $\dot{\eta}$  δ' έξ ἀναύγου καὶ μύσαντος ὁμματος | δεινὸν στενάξασ'  $\dot{\eta}$  τάλαιν' ἀνωμμάτου. This is not bad, in spite of possible objections. One cannot feel quite sure about ἀνωμμάτου, but it is at least sensible and possible. And there can be no question that V. is right in calling ἀπώλλυτο a corruption and  $\dot{\eta}$ γείρετο a gloss (or a conjecture).

1104, ἐλάπτετο for ἐλάμπετο does not commend itself.

1221, ποθεινή δή κλύουσι συμφορά, " a tale, is it not, that one may yearn to hear? a reproachful allusion to Medea's eagerness for the recital." Upon this I withhold my comments.

1234 presents another case of over-subtlety— εἰς "Αιδου πέλας, a reading almost as difficult as it is ill-supported.

1242-3, τί μέλλομεν; | τί δεινὰ τάναγκαῖα; μὴ πράσσειν κακόν, which may be accepted with very little reserve.

1268-70, ὁμογενῆ μιάσματ', ἔτι τ' αἰὲν αὐτοφόνταισιν οἰδα θεόθεν πίτνοντ' ἐπὶ δόμοις ἄχη. The best criticism upon this is to place beside it Leo's restoration: ὁμογενῆ μιάσματ' · ἔπεται δ' ἄμ' αὐτοφόνταις ξυνωδὰ θεόθεν πίτνοντ' ἐπὶ δόμοις ἄχη.

1346 V. writes τέχνην μιαιφόνε and translates the line, Go artist in villainy and murderess by trade. He cites the analogy of λογχοποιός, etc., to show that the termination -ποιός is characteristic of the names of trades, as a justification of αἰσχροποιός, "which but for this analogy would be miserably inadequate." He goes entirely too far in denying the possibility of such an expression as τέκνων μιαιφόνε. The note upon the passage is very engagingly written; and there is little doubt that V.'s view will find favor in many quarters. For my part, I have no doubt the MSS give us the line in its original form, and still less doubt that Euripides never wrote nor heard of a word of it. The line is a ridiculous "gag" invented by an actor whose words were larger than he could manage. By the way, the scholion to this passage is worth flotice. Dindorf prints it : ὅτι δοκεῖ τὸν στίχον τοῦτον εἰπὼν Εὐριπίδης ἐκβεβλῆσθαι· διὸ καὶ κεχίασται. That is meaningless: read ἐκβεβλῆσθαι ἀν. In 1369 κακή for κακά—a doubtful improvement. In 1380, ώς μή τις αὐτοῦ πολεμίων καθυβρίση. But the line calls for no emendation: a sound reading in one class of manuscripts and a slight slip in the other is no evidence of corruption.

Occasionally V. fails to notice an older correction which seems certain—κάμπνοῶν (Prinz), 334 is an example.

We may speak more briefly of V.'s treatment of interpolations. He brackets or prints at the foot of the page (in most cases following earlier critics) the following lines: 12, 40, 41, 42, 43, 246, 262, 466, 468, 470, 732, 778, 782, 913, 933, 943, 1006, 1062, 1063, 1225, 1226, 1227, 1284, 1285, 1288, 1289, 1359.

In regard to the spuriousness of most of these verses V. may be sure of the nearly unanimous assent of scholars who know Euripides. But it is difficult to see why he should be blind to the character of several other verses whose base origin has been shown by arguments as conclusive as have ever been adduced against any one of those he condemns. 1068 is as good an example as any. In this case he thinks it "difficult to account for" an interpolation. Whoever wrote that verse obviously intended to heighten the effect of the passage. But he did obviously alter and debase the effect. The motive might

have been active with Euripides himself or with an enterprising actor. But Euripides was a man of genius, who had elaborately created the scene, unlikely to be mistaken or uncertain about the real effect he sought. The line belongs to the well-recognized class of creations due to the theatrical companies. In regard to a number of other verses V. expresses doubts, often less definitely than might be wished. In regard to the repeated lines I cannot always accept his judgment. For example, he rejects 1062-3 and retains 1240-1. It is surely a slip when he says the children are present while 1060 ff. are spoken. In view of 1019-20 this cannot be. Occasionally the critical knife makes something less than a clean cut. This is notably the case with 12. The line is spurious, as has been repeatedly pointed out; but very little is gained by rejecting it alone. It cannot be too often repeated that in a piece known to be interpolated, if evidences of interpolation at any given place be detected, the presumptions in regard to the length of the insertion are very slight. There is no logic behind the rule, which many critics seem to regard, that an interpolation of one line must be thought twice as probable as one of two lines, and so on in the same ratio. The theatrical companies in their day foisted upon Euripides one whole play with a spare prologue.

Of the explanatory notes much good might be said. They are careful, in the main sympathetic, sometimes suggestive, and will be read with interest by scholars. But it can hardly be said that they add very much to our knowledge. Perhaps it would not be fair to expect this; but the commentator, when he comes, who really explains the construction of ov μή, 1151, will have an achievement to boast of. An example of over-refinement is the note on 32, where it is objected that Medea, on quitting her home, "arrived not at Corinth but at Iolkos." And there is an occasional vagueness, not to say inaccuracy in some of the statements and translations. So 35, what virtue there is in cleaving to the fatherland—the voice of ἀπολείπεσθαι is left unpleasantly in doubt. In 240, ὅτω μάλιστα χρήσεται ξυνευνέτη, wherewith she may best manage a husband, seems to the reviewer a translation of an emended text. But V. says "the conjecture  $\delta\pi\omega\varsigma$  for  $\delta\tau\varphi$  is scarcely necessary,  $\delta\tau\varphi$  being instrumental. Examples of so rare an instrumental would be welcome. It seems a Meineke did not know where to find one. In general V. seems a little too easily satisfied with expressions for which a name can be found in Kühner's Grammar, a little too easily disturbed when this name is lacking. An example of the latter sort is 1143, treated in an addendum. It is quite true, but not very strange, that στέγας has nothing, at least within the usage of tragic dialogue, to govern it. Some regard must be paid to the special style of the speaker. The ἀγγελοι, παιδαγωγοί, etc., regularly speak in a resonant and slightly confused way. Nothing more natural than for such a character to put the accusative πρός τὸ νοούμενον and then to vary slightly from his original intention in choosing a verb of motion. 1256, θεοῦ δ' αιματι πίτνειν φόβος ὑπ' ἀνέρων—the blood of gods is in peril of being shed by man. To say nothing of αίματι, nor of the absurdity involved in this rendering, was Euripides really so ignorant of his "Moods and Tenses"? The misunderstanding is not new (nor the correction of it); but φόβος πίτνειν and φόβος μη πίπτη are not interchangeable.

In minor details the book has received commendable care. Perhaps it would be well if editors could decide whether Euripides wrote  $\xi \psi \nu$  or  $\sigma \psi \nu$ ; but I

believe all editors are alike indifferent to the matter. Some forms, like  $\sigma\omega\zeta\omega$  and ol  $\mu\ell\nu$  (87), now seem a trifle old-fashioned. The publishers for their part could hardly have done more than they have.

J. H. WHEELER.

An Etymology of Latin and Greek. By Charles S. Halsey, A. M. Boston: ... Ginn, Heath & Co. 1882.

The title-page of this little work should have read somewhat as follows: An Essay by Dr. Maurice Bloomfield, divided into two parts, between which parts are inserted most of the Etymologies given in Curtius' Griechische Etymologie (before it was revised for the 5th edition), preceded by the greater part of Dr. Maurice Bloomfield's review of Meyer's Griechische Grammatik; besides these, twenty pages of matter extracted from various text-books; plus a chapter of one page, a list of roots, and three long indices, the last by Charles S. Halsey, A. M. This we believe to be fairer than the present title. We do not mean to say that the author has surreptitiously borrowed from other authors; but no one who had not seen this Journal for September, 1880, could guess how much lies hidden under the remark, "I have given the statement of those chapters condensed mainly from his (Dr. Bloomfield's) paper on the Greek Ablaut"; and again, "The Preliminary Statement is condensed from his article," etc. What does Mr. Halsey mean by 'mainly,' what by 'condensed'? There is not an idea in these chapters that is not expressed in the very words used by Dr. Bloomfield in the Journal a year ago. 'Mainly' means here 'wholly'; 'condensed' means copied and bisected, with here and there an omission.

We have now to examine the plan of the work. The author intends this book to supply a "felt want," for in the chance etymologies of school lexica "no connected systematic or thorough knowledge of etymology is acquired" (Preface, p. iii). This is very true. Let us now see how the author undertakes to give the young student the first ideas of "systematic" etymology. We must bear in mind that the work is intended for beginners, for such indeed as have "no knowledge of the Greek language" (p. xv). In the first twenty pages the author runs over the main facts of relationship between the I. E. languages. We notice on p. 2 that Armenian is unhesitatingly classed as Eranian, that Sanskrit is regarded as derived from Vedic. Of Pali and dialects which may go back to Vedic, not as derivatives but as parallel growths, no mention is made. Every root is monosyllabic (p. 6). The principle which underlies the greater part of phonetic change is the tendency to ease of utterance (p. 16). These points are merely stated, not discussed, doubtless because in a work "for school use" it is undesirable to present conflicting views (p. xiv). Why then do we have the "principles of the new school" set forth in the language of a scholar, and with such technical form that no schoolboy in America could follow the ideas given for two pages together? Why are twenty pages of general remarks followed by a learned essay on the Greek ablaut which can be of no possible interest to "such as have no knowledge of Greek," to such as those for whom the book is intended? This tacking together of disparate material shows itself in many details. So what Dr. Bloomfield calls guna is changed by

Mr. Halsey, sensibly enough for schoolboy use, into 'vowel increase,' and yet comes up without any notice with the incorrect spelling guna on p. 23.

The fact is we have no introduction here at all, no system, no arrangement. No scholar would use the book, for the material is either old or mutilated; no schoolboy could use it, for he would be lost in the first two pages of the "views of the new school." Theoretically the author stands as an advocate neither of the new nor of the old school. He presents both with the remark that in general the later views are more likely to prove correct, a simple end of all controversy. Practically the bulk of the book follows the old school, as most of the etymologies are quoted directly in the order in which Curtius has them (gutturals, liquids, sibilants, etc.), in "Regular Substitution," followed by the "Irregular Substitution." These etymologies can hardly be taken from the latest (5th, 1879) edition, for although that edition is mentioned (by Dr. Bloomfield, p. 21), we cannot conceive how this list can have been made with the 5th edition before the author, unless he voluntarily intended to bring up the ancient sins of the old school and chose to forget the recantation. For if Curtius is the exponent of the old school, are we to understand that Mr. Halsey is unwilling to admit recent investigations, or makes the old school still responsible for connecting No. 159 (herus) erus with χείρ? Curtius in the 5th edition says this erus on account of fem. esa is to be dismissed, thus recanting his former views. By what right too is (No. 27) Sk. kalamas connected with κάλαμος? This is a derivation repudiated in 5th edition "on account of the Slavic form." Why in explaining the views of the old school should mav and mu (Nos. 379, 380) still remain under separate heads (ἀμείβω moveo, but ἀμύνω munio) when Curtius in his 5th edition takes especial pains to unite the groups, referring moreover murus (which Mr. Halsey refers to root mu) to mi, build? If Fick or others support the rejected derivation, should it not be noted by an author who quotes Curtius as the especial master of the old school and is content to show us his results without explaining his methods?

A word is to be said as to the arrangement of this etymology. Though cognate languages are generally omitted, yet the forms are sometimes admitted; but one is at a loss to know on what principle this is done. Why is gatam brought forward in No. 15 and vigati omitted in No. 13; and in No. 17 why is gvaçura given (and spelled gvacura?) while in No. 44 the Sanskrit form that so well illustrates civis is entirely omitted, although no explanation is given of the mental process by which civis is developed out of the idea of 'lie' or 'keep quiet'?

This brings us to another great defect in this manual—the almost entire absence of that help which a student studying etymology most needs—help in aiding him to understand the process by which the idea is evolved. Once in a while this is done, as in carina (No. 42), credo (No. 256), flamen (No. 140), but in general the student is left to his own resources. For instance, in the first derivation given we have the root ak-ank-anc-; under this are placed, pell-mell, "ancilla, a maid-servant," "angulus, a corner," "uncus, a hook." What idea does the schoolboy receive from this as to the connection between 'maid,' 'corner' and 'hook'? Civis (No. 44) we have already mentioned: would it not aid "a systematic etymology" to mention the Oscan kevs and to have said that the root was, at best, only a guess? Should we not be told (No. 60) what connection exists between causa and cura: are 'cause' and 'care' related ideas in

the mind of the schoolboy? Should not at least an explanation accompany the doubtful statement that while abdo, to put away, and condo put together (No. 256), contain root dha, to place or make, perdo, meaning to put through (No. 225) comes from a different root? And again, why is famulus a slave? Would it not be well to have noted the fact that the Oscan fama means 'a house,' and famulus does not come directly from the root dha, to make, but means 'he who belongs to the house'? Even Curtius, who writes for scholars and not for schoolboys, notes that he connects avus with av from the supposed pleasant and tender relationship between the old man and his children; but here we have this avus alongside of obediens on the one side and aveo on the other, without explanation of the mental process which produced the word.

There are many etymologies stated as certain which are certainly not so. There are others which are really no derivation at all; for instance, "No. 26, Greek root κακ, κακός, bad." Where is the derivation? In No. 32 we have some remarkable Sanskrit. To explain κανάσσω and cano the root kan is assumed in Sk. (i. e. kan), and with this is given Sk. "kankani (sic), bell." Now changing this to kankani, as it should be written, we still have no word for bell, but a word for a ring which had bells on it; moreover, the original masc. form kankana contains in classical Sk. no idea of sound, but that of rotundity. The other fem. kinkini means a bell.

In No. 30 A. S. hal, German and Gothic forms are given. Why here and in so few such examples? To the Latin words as they stand in Curtius have been added a mass of English words derivable from them. It is here that the schoolboy at length has something worthy of him. Here he can learn that from tendo come tension, tent, attend, contend, distend and all the other tends, full lists of which are given. Every Latin root is carried out in all its ramifications in English. This is the other end of the scale—the schoolboy has his turn.

Had this work been done well it would have supplied a "felt want" indeed. Our disappointment as we close it makes us feel the want more deeply than before. We still want a simple introduction that shall teach youth how to see connection of ideas, shall give him firm ground to go upon, shall lay down the laws of philology in simple language fitted to his understanding. This book does not answer such a purpose. Dr. Bloomfield's learned article was admirable where it first appeared, but it was never meant to teach the theories of the new school to those who do not know Greek or who have not already studied the subject. The new school is explained, but too profoundly; the old school is illustrated, but not explained at all.

E. W. H.

Papers of the Archaeological Institute of America. Classical Series, I. Report on the investigations at Assos, 1881, by Joseph Thacher Clarke, with an Appendix 1 containing Inscriptions from Assos and Lesbos, and papers, by W. C. Lawton and J. S. Diller. Printed at the cost of the Harvard Art Club and the Harvard Philological Society. Boston: Published by A. Williams & Co. London: N. Trübner & Co. 1882.

Mr. Clarke's report to the Archaeological Institute of America on the investigations at Assos, made in 1881, has been before that society for some months.

<sup>1</sup> Lack of space prevents a discussion of the Appendix.

The rare practical sense and energy which guided his excavations and measurements, and the untiring eagerness for work which seconded his theoretical knowledge of archaeological facts and half-facts, have made this record most valuable. Thanks to him and to his indefatigable companions, this first American expedition, undertaken in the interests of classical archaeology, is one of which his countrymen may well be proud. Americans, however, are characterized by a willingness to be proud of many things from further connection with which they are debarred by an almost too jealous disinclination to be bored. But in this present case the promptings of such an impulse may profitably be disregarded, for Mr. Clarke tells his story clearly and modestly. Indeed, taken solely as a truthful account, in connection with a small piece of work, well and bravely accomplished, of the irresponsibility and the protean trickery of Ottoman officialism, this book is memorable. Lord Dufferin would hardly be able more effectively to arraign the Turkish manner of dealing with the infidel than Mr. Clarke has done. The following are some of the "eastern questions" which were successfully coped with by the American expedition.

- (1) Turkish law collects duties on merchandise transhipped from one Turkish port to another. Accordingly when the goods of the expedition had entered Smyrna duty free, they had to secure an order for free admission to Mitylene. The officials at Mitylene determined to resist so ungenerous a proceeding by finding that this order was not worded according to precedent. Pending a correction by communication with Smyrna, the goods and their owners were allowed to proceed to Assos (Behrám) after the filing of a bond for the full 8% ad valorem duty. No sooner were they gone than the Mitylenean authorities pounced upon the bondsman and demanded immediate payment without any reference to news from Smyrna. Only the timely accident of Mr. Clarke's presence in Smyrna and his vigorous use of the telegraph foiled this bold demand.
- (2) When the members of the party arrived in the Troad, ready to begin work, they were forced to wait 'months' before the necessary 'earadeh' (iradé) was forthcoming from Constantinople. Fortunately they were able to use most of this time in making an accurate survey of the site.1 This delay could not have been obviated by the exercise of human forethought on the part of the explorers, for the 'earadeh' had been officially promised 'as early as the autumn of 1880,' and, before the expedition lest America, "a further assurance that the document setting forth the right of excavation was at the immediate disposition of the agents, had been required and received." And yet it was not forthcoming. The Turkish government had, it appears, discovered to its sorrow that (Assos) Behrám was in the province of the governor of the Vilayet of Broussa, a man whose uncontrollable and savage aversion to excavations they were powerless to deal with. Further search and reflection, however, brought them relief, for they gradually became aware that Behrám was not in the territory of this archaeological ogre, but in direct dependence upon Constantinople. What must have been the joy of the Leader of the Faithful when, with the aid of the American Legation and after a sharply worded note from the American Secre-

<sup>1</sup> See the first plate "Plan of Assos, surveyed by F. H. Bacon and M. Wrigley, 1881."

tary of State, he awoke to a fuller consciousness of the extent of his own domain! When the 'earadeh' at last arrived, Mehmet Effendi was appointed commissioner to oversee the work, which meant that he was paid by the Americans for not molesting them in their excavations. To his credit be it said that he did not molest them.

(3) The most irritating thing which occurred, after work was under way, was the appearance, 'about two weeks before we proposed to close the excavations,' of a commissioner whose competency would seem to have been on his own showing in partibus infidelium. He demanded exorbitant payment for his travelling expenses, "and maintained that his salary—in amount three times the generous sum before paid (i. e. to Mehmet Effendi)—was to be continued throughout the winter, whether the work were carried on or not." He appealed to Mehmet Effendi's superior, who cheerfully acknowledged that the newcomer, who had no credentials or commission, partook of the sanctity which hedged the Pasha of the Dardanelles. Before this office-seeker could be routed an appeal to Constantinople had to be made.

The inventions of the Turk for the molestation of the infidel having thus been enumerated, it is interesting to see how successfully Mr. Clarke dealt with the other serious impediments to his work. The same irrepressible piety which has so grievously defaced the Elgin marbles led the Mohammedan population to amuse themselves by flinging stones and dirt at the unearthed sculptures, which had accordingly to be housed at the bottom of the steep hill as soon as possible. The surveying pegs were also viewed with great suspicion and constantly destroyed. In dealing with his workmen Mr. Clarke was very successful, and does not seem to have been so much at the mercy of church holidays as was the first Austrian expedition to Samothrace. The effect of the dust upon the workmen's eyes was counteracted by gauze spectacles, and an effort was made to prevent the men from secreting coins which might be dug up, by the offer of the intrinsic value of anything delivered to the director. No means, however, was found to deal with the fever from which the workmen and all the members of the expedition seriously suffered.

The many difficulties thus encountered by these courageous Americans and the general scope of their undertaking suggest the mention, largely by way of contrast, of the second Austrian expedition to Samothrace. This expedition, liberally fitted out by the Austrian government, spent about two months on the island of Samothrace, in the autumn of 1875, under the direction of Alexander Conze. Their report 1—a continuation of the first one published in 1875—appeared in 1880.

Although the golden hue lent by official courtesy to Dr. Conze's report undoubtedly transfigures much that a confidential narrative would represent as anything but pleasant, in these words there lurks a bitter meaning: "Here," in the Dardanelles, "our number was increased by the addition of the Turkish Commissioner Achmed-Effendi, with his negro body-servant, who was soon after reinforced by a white man. His Excellency the Pacha of the Archipelago refused to entertain any proposition which might have deprived him of the privilege of bestowing this gentleman upon us to superintend and succor us in

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Archaeologische Untersuchungen auf Samothrake. Band II. Wien, 1880.

our arduous undertaking." The servants of this precious commissioner proved a great nuisance afterwards, and the negro was particularly active in demoralizing the men at their work. Mr. Clarke, therefore, may be congratulated that his 'Effendi' brought no servants.

Turning to the results obtained for archaeology by these two expeditions, we may certainly be well satisfied with what the comparatively ill-provided American expedition accomplished, in a somewhat longer time to be sure, but with not half so many workmen, and with more than twice as much to contend with from climate and remoteness of situation.

In Samothrace, after a truly heroic excavation in search of the ancient temple of the Cabiri, a very long and very unremunerative Stoa was discovered. The Ptolemaeon was unearthed and hypothetically restored, and at the last moment various bas-reliefs, similar to some already in the Louvre, were found, and near them the ancient temple of the Cabiri, which was partially uncovered. This discovery came so late that the ground plan of the temple could not be determined. The Doric temple, uncovered by the expedition of 1873, was further investigated, and the Great Gate of the old wall was cleared. For some reason which does not clearly appear, the excavation of the Street of Tombs was given up, though Dr. Conze seems to think that much might be uncovered there.

The Americans at Assos corrected the glaring blunders of Texier, whose account of the Doric temple on that site proved surprisingly, though perhaps not unexpectedly, untrustworthy. Mr. Clarke, in fact, has the right to claim that the labors of his expedition have restored to our knowledge a memorable monument, which was worse than lost to us as long as we trusted the account of Texier. Further, the explorers examined the old walls 2 and cleared a most perfectly preserved gate.3 Then proceeding beyond the walls they came upon the ruins of an ancient bridge4 over the Satnioeis (Touzla), and were able to analyze the details of its construction. Finally, and this is one of the most welcome of their contributions to the data of archaeology, they made systematic excavations along the Street of Tombs with surprisingly fruitful results. They discovered two Exedrae5 and a number of Sarcophagi,6 and were able to make an approximately faithful plan of the way in which the hill was terraced for the reception of the funeral monuments.7

This notice would not be complete without some examination of Mr. Clarke's scholarly and painstaking account of the Doric temple at Assos, and at least a mention of the Metopes and other sculptures<sup>8</sup> which were unearthed. Especially interesting are the two blocks, on each of which are two Sphinxes face to face, with something like a pillar to separate them. These bas-reliefs are strikingly like the well-known lions of Mycenae, and appear to have been at the centre of a continuous relief, the greater part of which is in the Louvre, attached to the Epistyle. Texier placed the reliefs on the epistyle, but had not proved this somewhat startling fact as Mr. Clarke's careful investigation now has done beyond the possibility of any doubt.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The average number of workmen employed at Assos was 30, while the Austrians brought 12 workmen with them from Pola, and employed on the average 85 men from the island.

<sup>\*</sup> Plates 26 and 28.

<sup>3</sup> Plate 27.

<sup>4</sup> Plate 35.

<sup>8</sup> Plate 30.

<sup>7</sup> See Mr. Bacon's very pleasing outline drawing, Plate 29.

<sup>6</sup> Plates 30-34.

<sup>8</sup> Plates 16, 19, 20 and 21.

Mr. Clarke sums up Texier's sins of omission and commission in dealing with the temple as follows: "The remains now unearthed show the orientation of the temple to have varied considerably from the east to the south; Texier places it thirty degrees to the north of its true direction. The two steps are increased to three upon the French elevation, to four upon the fronts of the plan. The disposition of the plan given in the fine steel engraving with its double dipteral ranges of columns upon the east and the epinaos in antis on the west, must have been conceived by the ingenious author upon his return to Paris. The width of the building is given on the plan as 23, on the elevation as 13 metres. The excessive, sack-like entasis of the shafts, which has given rise to many wild theories, did not exist. The striking arrangement of the channel arrises in the axes was overlooked, while important members which never existed were added to the entablature, these being, with unparalleled effrontery, scaled to the millimetre as if accurately measured! The projecting mouldings, inserted between frieze and corona, are wholly at variance with the character of the style." 1

On one point Mr. Clarke's account, to him who reads only the report with its accompanying plans, seems not to justify itself. How is it possible to be certain that there was no western epinaos? Mr. Clarke says: "The position of the foundation stones and the engraved lines upon them display an exceptional feature of the plan; the cella was wholly without an epinaos, the plain wall of its rear being carried across the west at the same distance from the steps as at the sides." An examination of the Floor of the Temple "s suggests that foundation stones, where the epinaos columns may have stood, have entirely disappeared, and a question arises whether it is safe to depend solely upon the traces of the engraved line for the proof of so important a constructive feature. To be sure the fact that Texier put an epinaos upon the temple makes us ready to believe that there was none, but still Mr. Clarke does not help us to absolute certainty. It may be remarked by the way that the columns in antis of the pronaos, called for by Plates 7 and 8, seem not provided for in the elevation (Plate 14).

Finally Mr. Clarke argues that this temple was built shortly after the battle of Mycale and the expulsion of the Persians; but here again more light is desirable. The idea that provincial art lags in conception and execution behind the contemporary art of great centres can be pressed too far. Can the clumsiness of execution and the rudeness of conception which characterize the interesting sculptures of Assos, be nearer in date to the Aeginetan Marbles than to the Metopes of Selinus? For in spite of Mr. Clarke's eulogium these sculptures-unless very unfairly represented by the plates-must be pronounced clumsy and rude. It may be that Mr. Clarke's date for the building of the temple must be accepted, but as to the sculptures it seems almost impossible not to date them further back. Let us hope that at no distant day Mr. Clarke will elaborate his account of those details of architectural composition and execution which evidently have led him to assign so recent a date. And when he does this we can wish him no better friends to superintend the publication of his results than those who have done so much for this report. LOUIS DYER.

Englische Metrik, in historischer und systematischer Entwickelung dargestellt, von Dr. J. Schipper. I Theil: Altenglische Metrik. Bonn: Emil Strauss. 1882.

This work forms the first part of what bids fair to be a very complete and thorough treatise on English metre, and it supplies a long-felt want. We have had no historical treatment of the subject since Dr. Guest's History of English Rhythms, London, 1838, which Schipper pronounces as "gänzlich veraltet und unbrauchbar," and he refers to an adverse criticism of it by Prof. J. B. Mayor in the Transactions of the Philological Society for 1873-74. Schipper's work comprises four Sections: I, General Observations. Fundamental Principles; II, The Anglo-Saxon Period; III, The Norman Period; IV, Forms of the later Transition Period, closing with the reign of Henry VIII. The first section is introductory and explanatory, and of this chapters 4, on Word-accentuation in Germanic, Romanic, and English, and 5 on Rime, deserve special notice. It may be observed in passing that spectator, dictator (p. 19), is now the more usual accentuation. Schipper's views as to the origin of rime agree with Meyer and Grimm as against Wackernagel, and he instances the tenth century A.-S. Rhym-

ing Poem of the Codex Exoniensis as a case in point.

Section II on the Anglo-Saxon Period consists of three chapters: I. The alliterative long-line during the flourishing period of A.-S. poetry; 2. During its decline; 3. Transition-forms; rime and alliteration combined. Schipper bases his discussion in chapter I on Rieger's work, Die Alt- und Angelsächsische Verskunst (Halle, 1870), and is a decided opponent of the Vierhebungstheorie, which may now be considered as demolished so far as Anglo-Saxon poetry is concerned, and Heyne has done well to exscind the metrical portion in his 4th edition of "Beowulf." The structure of the verse is considered with respect to word-accent,-which in simple words must be on the stem-syllable, and in compounds on the first word (which specializes the meaning), though compounds with particles often form exceptions,-forms and laws of alliteration, its relation to the parts of speech and their position, caesura and close of the verse, and finally arsis (Hebung) and thesis (Senkung), to use these terms in their old signification and not umgekehrt, as nowadays. Chapter 2 discusses Aelfric's verse, showing his variations from the strict laws of older A.-S. alliterative verse; and chapter 3, poems of the 10th and 11th centuries, as the Rhyming Poem, Byrhtnoth's Death, Be domes daege, and those in the A.-S. Chronicle under the years 1036, 1065, and 1087. The whole section deserves translation into English for the use of Anglo-Saxon students, as we now have nothing on Anglo-Saxon verse to put into their hands. With respect to alliterating letters, on p. 49 ad. fin., Schipper quotes two lines from the Psalms as lacking alliteration where evidently p and s alliterate, as in Aelfric's poetry on p. 64; similarly on p. 50 ad init. a line from Byrhtnoth where st and s alliterate, which line he so prints on p. 72. So also the neglect of the aspirate, as in Judith, p. 50, is frequent in Aelfric, p. 64; and the alliteration of s and sc, sw and sc in the Psalms, p. 51, is seen in Aelfric, p. 65. The translator of the Psalms does not seem to have observed strictly the rules of the older poetry, and these licenses became more frequent in the later poetry. Possibly the alliteration of p and s may have been due to a lisping pronunciation.

Section III, on the Norman Period, the first epoch of early English poetry, is too full to be noticed in detail in a limited space. The chief forms of Early English rhythms derived from the French are defined and illustrated, and the rimed Septenar, or catalectic iambic tetrameter, of the Poema Morale, c. 1170, or a little later, is treated at length, and so as to invite approval except where a failing thesis (Senkung) within the verse is assumed. This seems very doubtful in some cases, and, if no syllable can be supplied, I should prefer to read lines 121 (248) and 132 (275), p. 97, as suggested on p. 98 ad init., and to emend 43 (88), p. 98, by inserting he after wot, and 90 (185) by inserting do after suster, just as in 90 (186), p. 97; so also 12 (2) and 16 (1), p. 100: this omission sounds unrhythmical and should be corrected where possible, but its existence in contemporary verse cannot be denied. The unrimed Septenar of the Ormulum is next considered and its syllabic regularity commented on, so that we see the same word differently accented in the same line; as, O mannkinn swd patt itt mannkinn, which simplifies the metre at the expense of the word-accent. Here follows the short eight-syllable rimed verse of the Pater Noster, about second half of the 12th century, imitated from the Old-French epic poetry, which is much freer in its movement, showing the same licenses as in the Poema Morale, and containing several verses with failing thesis which seem beyond emendation and must be charged to the lack of skill of the riming poet. Then comes the Old-English Alexandrine, seen in The Passion of our Lord, about first half of the 13th century, imitated from the French, but characterized by the national metrical licenses, such as lack of a syllable (Auftakt) at beginning of the verse and after the caesura, lack of thesis (Senkung) within the verse, double Auftakt, double thesis, slurring, etc. We find too the Septenar, or 14-syllable verse, mingled with the Alexandrine and sometimes riming with it. A similar measure is seen in The Woman of Samaria, of same date. Schipper has a tendency to assume lack of thesis, where change of accent or a slight emendation would restore the rhythm, e. g. lines 72 and 73 (p. 120) second half, would be better if accented, . . . myd wel múchel prýnge, . . . . and béden his blessýnge; he cites several examples of accent similar to blessynge. Chapter 6 of this section, on the O. E. Word-accent in the 12th and 13th centuries, is a close argument, devoted to opposing the views of ten Brink and Jessen, adopted by Wissmann, Rosenthal and Trautmann, in respect to the application of the Vierhebungstheorie to Old-English poetry. The laws of word-accent which Schipper opposes are quoted from Wissmann's King Horn (Quellen und Forschungen XVI, p. 43) on p. 125, and after a careful examination of the versification of Orm, supported by that of the Poema Morale, Pater Noster, and Passion of our Lord, Schipper concludes (p. 141): "Alle diese Beispiele aber bezeugen in gleicher Weise die Tonlosigkeit der Flexionssilben zweisilbiger Wörter, einerlei ob dieselben lange oder kurze Stammsilben haben mögen." These views are strengthened by an examination of words of more than two syllables, so that we may consider the Zweihebungstheorie as proven for English verse of this period. Schipper's style would be more attractive if it were not so characteristically German; sentences of over twenty lines (pp. 124, 128) are not inviting.

Here follows a study of the alliterative line of free movement in the 12th and 13th centuries, as seen (1) in the Proverbs of King Alfred and Layamon's Brut; (2) combined with the Septenar and French metres, as in On god oreisun ure

Lefdi, A lutel soth sermun, and especially in the varied measures of the Bestiary; and (3) in King Horn, to which he devotes a chapter, supporting at length his above-mentioned views as against Wissmann. Schipper is consistent throughout and shows a regular development of the alliterative line, with all its modifications, from the A.-S. verse, but here again (p. 194), instead of assuming a failure of thesis, why not accent Schipes fiftene with Sarrazins kene, 37-8, and again, And cam to the kinge At his uprisinge, 843-4, allowing double thesis, but still preserving two accents to the half line, as anapaests in modern iambic verse, and thus resembling the Skeltonic verse (cf. pp. 232 ff.).

The alliterative long-line of stricter form, as it appears in the 13th, 14th, 15th and 16th centuries is next treated, first without, and secondly with end-rime, and in strophes (stanzas). For the 13th century we have Hali Meidenhad, Seinte Marharete, Seinte Juliane, and Seinte Caterine, of which the second and third are considered, but the difficulty of studying their metrical structure is enhanced by the fact that they are printed by Cockayne as prose. For the 14th century a series of works mentioned by Rosenthal in Anglia I, 414, are used, though most of the examples are taken from Skeat's edition of Piers Plowman, and for the 15th, the Morte Arthur and Dunbar's The twa maryit weman and the wedo. For the riming and strophic verse Joseph of Arimathie, certain poems in Böddeker's Altenglische Dichtungen (MS. Harl. 2253), Minot's Political Songs, and Douglas's Aeneid (Prologue to Book VIII), are used, from which it appears that in these last alliteration was employed more as an ornament to verse imitated from the French than in accordance with the strict rules of the older poetry. Finally, the loose forms which this line takes in the Towneley and Coventry Mysteries and in Skelton's Magnyfycence are illustrated, so that alliteration at last ceases to be a characteristic peculiarity of this verse.

The Septenar and Alexandrine long-lines are next taken up and discussed according as the rhythm of the one or the other preponderates, or a mixture of both occurs. Chief representatives of the Septenar are seen in Furnivall's Early English Poems and Lives of Saints (Berlin, 1862), of the mixed rhythm in Robert of Gloucester, and of the Alexandrine in Robert of Brunne. While Schipper's views of the rhythm of Robert of Gloucester and its national characteristics are correct, and a good Alexandrine is to be preferred to a bad Septenar, exception may still be taken, I think, to his concession of Septenar rhythm to some lines which would read better as Alexandrines. This seems to be caused by his disposition, already noticed, to assume a failure of thesis between two accents, and consequent indisposition to allow that a syllable usually accented may sometimes lose its accent and stand in the thesis, e. g. (p. 248), R. G. I, (first half-line), which he reads as Septenar and accents After kyng Bábúlf may be read as Alexandrine and accented After kyng Babulf; so 9 (first half-line) Do be kýng to élde cóm, with double thesis (Auftakt) as Alexandrine, instead of as Septenar, with Schipper.

This section closes with a chapter on the short riming couplet of four feet, i. e. the iambic dimeter seen in the Owl and Nightingale, the Surtees Psalter, Robert of Brunne's Handlyng Synne, Hampole's Pricke of Conscience, and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>Cf. the texts, c. 1310, of Seynt Mergrete and Seynt Katerine from MS. Auchinlech, given in Horstmann's Altenglische Legenden (1881), pp. 225 and 242.

many others. Schipper finds the real distinction between this verse and that of four accents in the caesura present in that, absent in this-though to my ear caesura, if not so well defined, is plainly present here also-with which is joined the dissyllabic or polysyllabic thesis of the line of four accents, while thesis and arsis are each usually monosyllabic in this verse. Robert of Brunne shows great freedom here, employing all the usual metrical licenses, but it is hard to see why Schipper should accent (p. 263, l. 5590), Come Pérs fort yn par gát, to my ear an impossible rhythm; Come should be accented and not Pers, and if we could read pare for par, the line would run smoothly enough. The quotation from Barbour's Bruce, pp. 267-8, seems to contradict the view that few feminine rimes occur in this poem, unless we are to regard most of these final -e's as silent. Lack of space will not permit mention of several lines in which exception may be taken to Schipper's accentuation. I shall add only two from Chaucer's Boke of the Duchesse (p. 281), which would read better as follows: Cértes I nill neu(e)r eáte bread, 92; and, For him alás! she lóved ald(e)rbést, 87. Morris's remarks, quoted p. 270, will apply to all Old-English poetry: "It is not the number of syllables but of accents that is essential"; and "the syllables which are to be heavily accented are naturally those that ought to be," though this last admits exceptions.

Section IV, on the second epoch of the Old-English Period, treats the forms of the later transition period, and especially the poems written in strophes. The first four chapters are introductory, and discuss the kinds of rime and their arrangement in strophes in relation to the Middle-Latin, Provençal, and Old French rimes and strophes. Schipper finds a close connection between these forms and those in Old-English, while it is not always easy to say which of the three languages furnished the model for a particular Old-English strophe. The influence of the Provençal and Old French is observed to a greater extent in the strophe of three parts, or members, than in that of two, for Middle-Latin lyric poetry furnished the model for this strophe to all the nations of western Europe. Finally, the refrain and the envoy are discussed in their various forms, and Schipper concludes that, in spite of the great influence which the Middle-Latin and the Provençal-French lyric poetry exerted on the form of Old-English strophes, the Old-English poetry preserved its originality, and this is plainly seen in the kinds of verse used in the strophes. As in the epic and satiric poetry of this period, so in the lyric poetry, the two forms, the Germanic line of four accents and the Romanic of four feet, exist side by side and often cannot be distinguished from one another, as already seen in the Old-English lyric poetry of the preceding epoch.

The strophes themselves are next treated, and first that of two parts of equal members, as in the forms riming aabb, abab, both single and double strophes, and the so-called rime couée (tail-rhyme) strophe in the form aabccb, and its various modifications. The virelay, in the form aabaabaab, followed by bbcbbcbc, etc., is here included, and Chaucer's poem quoted as a peculiar modification of it. Here follow the strophe of one rime (which may also be regarded as one whole, similar to the next), the undivided strophe, and the strophe of two unequal parts, or members, which occurs in various forms. Dunbar's poems furnish numerous examples of its different forms; Minot and Shoreham, the Towneley and Coventry Mysteries, and the Old-English legends supply others.

Peculiar forms are seen in certain lays of different measures, of which Dame Siriz, in Maetzner, is a good example. The strophe of three parts, in dissimilar and in similar measures, is discussed lastly, examples being taken from Wright's Specimens of Lyric Poetry, found also in Böddeker's collection, the Early English Psalter, and others. These strophes are treated according to the number of lines which compose them, and the discussion closes with examples, taken from Chaucer, of the strophes in iambic verse of five measures in four, five, six, seven, eight, nine and ten lines, and the roundel, with examples from Lydgate and Chaucer.

The last two chapters are devoted to an examination of the iambic verse of five feet, before Chaucer, in his poems, and in his successors. The main examination, as would naturally be expected, is given to Chaucer's verse, and is based on the works of Ellis, Child, Morris, and Skeat. This verse occurs for the first time, so far as known, in two poems of the beginning of the 14th century, published by Wright and by Böddeker (MS. Harl. 2253), and is doubtless imitated from the French. Chaucer took as his model Guillaume de Machault, as Skeat has already shown. Chaucer's verse is examined in respect to word-accent, caesura, change of rhythm, failure of thesis in beginning and within the verse, double thesis, slurring, unaccented inflexional endings, and final e. The examination is very complete, and Schipper's views seem, in the main, correct, but a few exceptions may be taken to them. The occurrence of feminine caesura after the third foot (p. 455) is very doubtful: the examples given may readily be otherwise explained. So also the single example of failing thesis (Auftakt) in second half of the verse (p. 463) will not answer, for maunciple is a dissyllable, whether followed by consonant or vowel (cf. p. 468), and that of failing thesis (Senkung) within the verse is even more objectionable, for doubtless seynt-e is the correct reading, and if not, sé-ynt is capable of extension, as Ellis takes it. These licenses then may be excluded from Chaucer's poems. Again, the denial of five accents to each line seems scarcely sustained, for the examples quoted of lines composed chiefly of monosyllables (p. 449) still admit this accentuation, even if the rhythmical accent must be placed on conjunctions, prepositions, pronouns, and such like unemphatic words, which accentuation occurs frequently in Chaucer, e. g., Or if men smot it with a yerde smerte: read without such accentuation, it might as well be prose. So too the little words after and under seem to give Schipper much trouble, as in the examples following this one, but Chaucer does sometimes accent these words on the second syllable, and there is no getting over it. So also does Gower, as in the examples on p. 485.

The last chapter discusses the further development of this verse from Gower to Lyndsay, including Gower, Occleve, Lydgate, Hawes, Barclay, Henrisoun, King James I of Scotland, Blind Harry, Dunbar, Douglas, and Lyndsay. While the French syllabic principle is seen in the Scottish poets, the English accentual principle still predominates largely, and Lyndsay shows the same relations of accent and the same metrical licenses as Chaucer. A few exceptions may be taken here too to Schipper's scanning, e.g. in Lydgate (p. 495), instead of double thesis, why not scan Of worldly support; for all com(e)th of Jhésu, which accentuation of support occurs in Lyndsay (p. 536), Now, with the supporte of the king of glórye! But exceptions taken here and there to Schipper's scanning, more of which might easily be adduced, do not injure the value of his great

work. It is a monument of patient labor, sound judgment, and good rhythmical feeling, even if not perfect in this respect. It has the advantage of being up to date, of having made use of the latest publications, such as those of the Early English Text Society, edited by Ellis, Morris, and Skeat, with whose metrical views it is, in the main, in agreement, and of presenting in one view a historical development of English verse from the earliest times to the middle of the sixteenth century, thus filling a void felt by all English scholars. Especially is this want felt in respect to Anglo-Saxon verse, for English scholars have not heretofore given much attention to this subject, and Schipper's section is the best concise treatment of it that we possess. As suggested above, it should be translated and put into the hands of students of Anglo-Saxon poetry in all of our colleges where this study is pursued.

JAMES M. GARNETT.

Aristidis Quintiliani de Musica libri III, cum brevi annotatione de diagrammatis proprie sic dictis, figuris, scholiis cet., codicum MSS edidit ALBERTUS IAHNIUS, Dr. phil. hon., sodal. Acad. Monac., etc. Berolini: Calvary & Co., 1882. 8°. pg. LXII et 97.

The epoch of the Greek writer on the theory of music, Aristides, is not exactly known. He lived, however, after Cicero's time, for he criticizes some of his disputations (II, c. 70); he probably lived before Ptolemy wrote his Harmonica, for he scarcely would have failed to mention it if he had perused its contents. Aristides, who is a most instructive writer, had never before been published, except by Marcus Meibomius (Amstelod. Elzev. 1652), who edited his work together with the musical writings of six other ancient authors. See also Jul. Caesar: Die Grundzüge der griechischen Rhythmik im Anschluss an Aristides Quintilianus erläutert. On pages XLVI-LVII the manuscripts are described which Jahn has compared for the present edition. Dr. Jahn is Secretary of the Federal Department of the Interior at Berne, Switzerland. He is well known as a keen archaeologist and historian; as to philology, he has in later years published the writings of Methodius (Sanct. Methodii opera et S. Methodius plotinizans, Halae 1865). Of his earlier works we may mention: S. Basilius M. plotinizans, Bernae 1838, and Animadversiones in S. Basil., Bernae 1842.

A. S. G.

# REPORTS.

ZEITSCHRIFT DER DEUTSCHEN MORGENLÄNDISCHEN GESELLSCHAFT. 1881.

Heft II und III.

The articles of Socin on the geography of Tur 'Abdin (see in Heft I Nöldeke's notice of Prym and Socin's work on the modern Aramaic dialect of this region, which is bounded on the north and northeast by the Tigris, and on the south by the Mesopotamian valley), of Klamroth on the Arabian Euclid, of Justi on the Parsi Deri dialect of Jezd (Yezd), of Bollensen on the Veda metrik, and the tone-system of the Rig- and Sama-Veda, of Oldenberg on the date of the new alleged Asoka inscriptions (in which he calls in question the name of the king, and declares the inscription worthless for chronological purposes), of Stickel on Oriental coins (a critical notice of Thomas's ed. of Marsden's Numismata Orientalia, London, 1874, and of the International Numismata Orientalia, 1875), and of Nöldeke on "Der beste der arischen Pfeilschützen im Avesta und im Tabari," can only be mentioned here as containing valuable materials on these subjects. Bickell's article on Hebrew metrik is another attempt on his part to show that this metrik rests on the same principles as the Syrian, and its daughter, the Christian Greek, namely, on number of syllables, neglect of quantity, regular succession of toned and untoned syllables, identity of metrical and grammatical accent, coincidence of verse-divisions (stichoi) with sense-divisions, and the union of similar or dissimilar stichoi into regularly recurring strophes; but his procedure is arbitrary, and his thesis not proved.

- 6. Zu den himyarischen Inschriften. Von Dr. J. H. Mordtmann, Jr. (Mit 2 Tafeln.) The first plate gives a photograph of a bas-relief with inscription, published before by Mordtmann in ZDMG XXXII 400. It represents a deceased man at a meal, sitting on an armless chair, his right hand holding a cup, and his left pressed to his breast, in front of him a table with drinking-vessels,

by the table a servant holding food and cups, and beyond him a female figure, with what seems a musical instrument in its hands. A picture below portrays him on horseback, spear in hand, driving a well-drawn camel before him; that is, according to Mordtmann's suggestion, he is returning from a successful foray. The second plate represents a woman's head, with inscription. The interest of these monuments lies in the light they throw on the old South Arabian customs and art. The dress is nearly the same as that of to-day—on the head of one figure is seen something like the modern Kaffiye; the style is naïve, and there seems to be no trace of Greek influence.

7. Aegyptisch-Aramäisches. Von Franz Praetorius. The first word of the inscription on the Serapeum stone, DNA, which Levy (ZDMG XI 69) rendered "offering" (Egypt, athēb), and Merx (XXII 693) "slain offering," Praetorius regards as the Egyptian htp "gift or offering." He objects to Merx's explanation of DL2 as pa-Neit on the ground that Egypt. p is regularly rendered on the monuments by Semitic D, and not by 2.

There are commendatory notices of Hoffmann's Opuscula Nestoriana (Syriac text, with Introduction) by Nöldeke, of Schlumberger's Le Trésor de Sana'a (Himyaritic coins, showing Greek influence) by Mordtmann, of Herrnsheim's Beitrag zur Sprache der Marschall-Inseln by Pott, and of Spitta-Bey's Grammatik des arabischen Vulgärdialectes von Aegypten, by Goldziher, and by Praetorius remarks on the trilingual inscription of Zebed published and explained by Sachau (Monatsberichten der Berliner Akademie, 1881).

#### IV Heft.

- 1. Das Grhyasamgrahapariçishta des Gobhilaputra. Von Dr. M. Bloomfield. Text in Roman transcription, with annotated translation. The author (now in charge of Sanskrit in the Johns Hopkins University) has made a very careful and instructive study of this ritual treatise, pointing out the relation of the various parts to the sutras of Gobhila, explaining obscure passages, with constant reference to the recent edition of Gobhila's Grhyasūtra in the Bibliotheca Indica by the Pandit Candrakānta Tarkālāmkāra. The text is based on three MSS of the East India office.
- 2. Tabari's Korancommentar. Von O. Loth. Of Tabari's commentary on the Koran, which for a long time was thought to be lost, three MSS are now known, which give the greater part of this renowned work. The editing of the book Loth thinks impracticable at present, but gives a general account of the Cairo MS, with extracts. Tabari's introduction discusses the language and names of the Koran, and the divisions into suras and verses. The commentary is described by Loth as specifically dialectic, and independent and original in suggestion, though holding strictly to the conception of the Koran as a divine revelation. The monograms at the beginning of some suras, which are very variously explained by modern critics, Tabarī holds to be made up of significant letters conveying religious truth; he quotes at great length the views of his predecessors. In sura 85 he does not find a reference to the martyrs of Najran. Concerning the people of 'Ad he relates the same things as in his history. The interest of this commentary, whose date is about A. H. 300 (A. D. 912), lies in the fact that it represents the older ethical or practical, as distinguished from the later, more speculative school of theology. It is to be hoped that it will soon be published.

3. Ueber das Vaterland und das Zeitalter des Awestā. Von F. Spiegel. Against Duncker and others Spiegel maintains that Bactria was not the birth-place of the Avesta, and finds in the book itself (Yç. 19, 50-52) and elsewhere proofs that it originated in western Eran among the Medes, where in Ragha Zarathustra is said to have been both civil and religious head of the nation. He opposes also Roth's construction of the Calendar (ZDMG XXXIV 698). As to the age of the Avesta he confines himself to saying that the greater part of it was in existence in the last part of the Achemenidean period; and in general he adopts a very cautious tone with respect to the critical problems of the Zoroastrian religion.

The other articles of this number, which I must content myself with merely mentioning, are: one on an Ethiopic MS of the "Sapiens Sapientium," by C. H. Cornill (a collation of its text with that printed in Dillmann's Chrestomathy); Armeniaca II, by H. Hübschmann; on Kālāçoka-Udāyin, and corrections and additions to the Kālakācārya-Kathānakam, by Hermann Jacobi; on the Soma, by R. Roth; on the Himyaritic-Ethiopian wars, by J. H. Mordtmann; Vedic Miscellanies, by R. Pischel; remarks on the "Syrisch-römisches Rechtsbuch aus dem fünften Jahrhundert" of Bruns-Sachau (second article), by Perles (illustrations from the Mishna of the entrance of Roman processes into Jewish law), and a remark by Franz Praetorius on the reading of the second line of the bilingual inscription of Ḥarrān (he thinks it refers to the conversion of the heathen temple into a burial-place of martyrs).

Anzeigen. Praetorius recognizes the great merits of L. Stern's Koptische Grammatik (Leipzig, 1880), especially in its fulness of materials, but finds fault with his arrangement, and some of his grammatical views. The same reviewer speaks favorably of Antoine d'Abbadie's Dictionnaire de la langue amariñña (Paris, 1881), but all the more deplores the author's strange doubt or denial of the Semitic character of the Amharic. Vámbéry has a notice of Count Kuun's edition of the Codex Cumanicus (Budapest, 1880), and of the Turkish dialect of which it treats. Goldziher calls attention to the value of Sa'adia's Kitāb al-Amānāt wa'l-I'tiqādāt, "Treatise on religious dogma" (edited by S. Landauer, Leiden, 1880) as an indication of the influence of Moslem theology on Jewish religious conceptions. Victor Ryssel's monograph on Gregory Thaumaturgus (Leipzig, 1880) is reviewed by Nestle, who makes some corrections

of the author's translation, but expresses a favorable opinion of the work. C. Bartolomae communicates a few readings (variations from Westergaard's text) from a MS in the library of the German Oriental Society, containing fragments of the Vendidad-Sāde.

#### 1882. I Heft.

- r. A. Socin gives a number of texts, with translation, in the Arabic dialect of Mōṣul and Mārdīn, which he originally wrote down from the mouths of natives. They consist of fables, and stories of the silliness of Kurds, and are very like some of our own folk-stories. The Arabic is simple, but differs somewhat from the western dialects in vocabulary and grammar; Socin purposes working up the language, with the aid of the Kurdish and Syriac spoken in that region.
- 2. Die Parsen in Persien, ihre Sprache und einige ihrer Gebräuche. Von A. Houtum-Schindler. A valuable statistical sketch of the present Parsi population of Persia, which is said to number about 8500, with comparative vocabularies of Parsi and Modern Persian, the former often showing phonetically weaker forms, as duter, dut, "daughter," over against Mod. Pers. duhtar, duht. The customs of the Parsees, the author says, such as laws of inheritance, and prayers, are the same as those described in the Avesta and other ancient books.
- 3. In a letter to Professor Fleischer, Dr. Franz Teufel, Assistant in the Grand-ducal library at Carlsruhe, presents his plan for preparing a political and literary history of Persia and Central Asia from the rise of the Safawī to the present time, from original sources. Working all his life, he says, under grievous difficulties, he despairs of carrying out his purpose without the aid of scholars and libraries throughout Europe. Fleischer speaks of him as a thoroughly mature scholar and worthy man, and heartily commends him to the sympathy and cooperation of all persons interested.
- 4. Teufel furnishes extensive annotations to Ethé's edition of Nāṣir Chusrau's Rušanāināma, and to Fagnan's "Le Livre de la félicité" of the same author.
- 5 and 6. Hubschmann continues his Armeniaca, and Pischel his Vedic Miscellanea.
- 7. Edessenische Inschriften. Mitgetheilt und erklärt von Ed. Sachau. As further fruit of his journey to the East in 1879-1880 Sachau here makes a beginning in Old Syrian epigraphy. Of the ten inscriptions which he publishes some were already known; but the new Syriac texts throw no little light on the palaeography and early history of Edessa. He inclines to assign one of these to the second half of the second century of our era; the others fall later. Some of the proper names seem not only to belong to the native dynasty of the second century, but also to show that the country had at that time not embraced Christianity, though this is doubtful. From Sachau's account of the wanton destruction of inscriptions now practiced by the Muhammadans it is obviously desirable that means should be taken to secure good copies immediately, and it is to be hoped, as he suggests, that the committee in charge of the Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum may look to this.

8 and 9. Herrnsheim communicates remarks on Chamisso's "Radak-Vocabularium," and Dr. Alois Führer gives the titles of four Birmese law-books in addition to that edited by Richardson.

Anzeigen. Nöldeke's notice of Friedrich Delitzsch's Wo Lag Das Paradies? (Leipzig, 1881), while it admits the great value of the historical and geographical materials collected by the author, decides that he has failed to establish the position of the biblical Eden. The reviewer agrees in this with most of the notices of Delitzsch's work that have appeared, and the objections urged by him seem to be just. The same cannot be said of all his criticisms on the author's Assyriological material. For example, his remark that king Asurbanipal's description of the Syrian desert ("where wild asses and gazelles do not feed") shows either that the king has been guilty of absurd exaggeration (since these animals abound in the desert), or that the passage has been mistranslated, is hasty; such a description of a frightful desert, as a strong expression for unfruitfulness, may easily be conceived. His objection to the Assyrian uṣnu's representing Arabic hiṣn, founded on the ignoring of the h (p. 181), is not well taken, since precisely this dropping of the Semitic h is a regular phenomenon in Assyrian. Nor does it seem reasonable to depreciate Assyrian studies in general (p. 182, note 1) because Sayce, "who passes for a master," has "made mistakes in Hebrew grammar" in his explanation of the Siloam inscription.

# II Heft.

Beiträge zur jüdisch-apokalyptischen Literatur. Von Karl Wieseler. For the determination of the date of the Book of Enoch, Wieseler examines the visions of the 70 shepherds, and the 70 weeks of the world's history (89, 56-90, 19). The shepherds he makes angels (since earthly rulers are represented under the form of animals), and assigns to each a period of seven years. This arrangement, he thinks, makes the chronology of the book consistent with itself, and gives a period of 490 years for the shepherds, to be reckoned from the destruction of the temple B. C. 589-588. The visions, however, he supposes were probably written shortly before the close of this period, about the time of king John Hyrcanus I, B. C. 130. He assigns the same date to the Messianic section, Chs. 37-71. The proper name Taxo (Latin for "badger") in the Assumptio Mosis, c. 9, he regards as symbolic designation of a Zealot, who proposes to his sons to go into a cave in order to keep God's commandments, in the time of Herod the Great, as was done in the Maccabean period. Identical with this, he thinks, is the surname of Simon, Oasosi, I Mac. 2, 3, Heb. "בחח, from דחח " badger." As to this last, the Heb. word is now usually, following the Arabic, held to mean "seal."

- 2. Abhandlung über das Licht von Ibn al-Haitam. Herausgegeben und übersetzt von Dr. J. Baarmann. Ibn al-Haitam (A. D. 965-1038) is reckoned one of the greatest of the Arabic medieval physicists and mathematicians, and this edition of his work on Light is welcome. The editor had before him only one MS, Sprenger 1834, in the Royal Library at Berlin.
- 3. Socin gives further texts in the Arabic dialect of Mesopotamia, this time from that of Märdīn. See first article in the preceding Heft.

- 4. Beiträge zur erklärung des Kitāb al-Fihrist. Von Ig. Goldziher in Budapest. These remarks refer to the Fihrist's designations of the Sunnites and of the Vulgar Arabic.
- 5. Das Eigenthumsrecht nach moslemischem Rechte. Von Baron von Tornauw. After stating as his general conclusions that Moslem law recognizes a complete right of property in one's possessions, and has greatly modified the principle that a public treasury belongs to the whole Moslem religious community, the author gives a list of original sources, and an elaborate and valuable treatise on the Moslem right of property.
- 6. Die persischen Bruchzahlen bei Belädhori. Von M. J. de Goeje. The author points out that the Persian words for fractions ended in *oda* or *ota* (*dahota*  $=\frac{1}{10}$ ), and this reading is accepted by Olshausen, who had given a different form (Berlin Acad. of Sciences, June, 1881).
- 7. Professor Dozy communicates the titles of some Arabic MSS lately discovered in Granada, on history, philosophy, and medicine, among them one, almost illegible, written in Morocco.
  - 8. A study by Sachau of the trilingual inscription of Zebed, word by word.
- 9. Der Adler mit dem Soma. Von R. Roth. An examination of Rigveda 4, 27, for the purpose not of explaining the myth, but, so far as possible, of establishing the text; his restored text exhibits the eagle not in the usual character of bearer of the soma from heaven, but as one who snatches it from demons. Roth urges the necessity of careful study of small parts of the RV, to prepare the way for some future translator who shall do for it what Voss did for Homer.
- 10. Beiträge zur Kenntniss indischer Dichter. Von Theodor Aufrecht. Verses from less known poets, collected from various sources, with translations and short notes.

C. H. Toy.

JOURNAL ASIATIQUE, 1881.

Avril-Mai-Juin. 1. Continuation by Halévy of his examination of the Safa inscriptions.

- 2. Études sur l'histoire d'Éthiopie. Première Partie: Chronique Éthiopienne, d'après un manuscrit de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris, par M. René Basset. Text, omitting fol. 2, of which a translation with historical notes is given. This chronicle, written in the first half of the last century, undertakes to give the annals from Adam down to the author's time, and will doubtless clear up some obscurities in the history of Ethiopia. Basset accords to Bruce the honor of having reintroduced this subject to the attention of European scholars, after the labors of Ludolf and others had almost been forgotten.
- 3. Observations sur le Vendīdād, par M. J. Darmesteter. I. This is a reply to Harlez's criticisms on Darmesteter's translation of the Vendidad (Vol. IV of Sacred Books of the East). The latter states his own critical position to be as follows: The doctrine contained in the Zoroastrian books existed as early as the fall of the Achaemenides, but only as the faith of the Magi, who also held to dualism and Ahriman in the time of Herodotus; the Magi were a

Median sacerdotal caste, and the writers of the Avesta, the cradle of Zoroastrianism being Media; the Magi reached the doctrines of the Avesta by developing the latent dualism of the old Indo-Iranian religion, and the old Aryan conception of the purity of the elements; they were probably introduced into Persia by Cyrus, were suppressed by Darius, and six centuries later became victorious; Ormazd is Indo-Iranian and Indo-European, a derivation from the old god of heaven; Ahriman is not Indo-European, but Indo-Iranian, partly derived from the old storm-demons, and partly the evil counterpart of Ormazd; and the learned religion established above these two a supreme principle, whence both were held to emanate. Darmesteter further states that he is neither exclusively Vedist nor traditionist, but uses both Veda and tradition, the latter to go as far as it will carry him, and the former to reach the primitive Aryan faith whence both Vedism and Mazdeism are derived.

4. Études Bouddhiques. Comment on devient Pratyeka-Buddha, par M. Léon Feer. The Bodhi of the Pratyeka-Buddha is the second of the three grades, the first being that of the Çrāvakas (hearers), and the third that of the Buddhas. Feer here describes its nature, and the mode of attaining it, giving extracts from the Avadāna-Çataka, full of curious details.

Nouvelles et Mélanges. There are commendatory notices of West's Pahlavi Texts Translated (Vol. V of Sacred Books of the East), by Harlez, of Nève's French translation of Bhavabhūti's Dénouement of the History of Rāma, by Senart, and of Pertsch's Catalogue of the Arabic MSS in the Gotha Ducal Library, by Zotenberg.—Barbier de Meynard finds E. H. Palmer's Haroun Arraschid, Caliph of Bagdad (London, 1881), lacking in breadth and precision, though written with grace and skill. He calls attention to the formation in London of the Pāli Text Society, for which the aid of American scholars has already been asked.

Août-Septembre. 1. René Basset continues his annotated translation of the Ethiopian Chronicle, MS 151 of the Paris Bibliothèque Nationale.

- 2. Les prétendus problèmes d'Algèbre du Manuel du Calculateur Égyptien (Papyrus Rhind), par M. Léon Rodet. The author seeks to show, against Professors Eisenlohr and Cantor of Heidelberg, that this papyrus contains not algebraic, but only arithmetical processes, and that the Egyptian writer was not acquainted with multiplication and division, but only with addition and subtraction; he gives also interesting notices of the medieval Arabian and Jewish arithmetic. Throughout Europe, he remarks, up to the 16th century, books on arithmetic made doubling and halving special operations, distinct from multiplication and division.
- 3. Matériaux pour le dictionnaire assyrien, par M. Arthur Amiaud. Along with some already generally admitted facts Amiaud makes valuable contributions to the Assyrian lexicon. The passages which he cites from W. A. I. for the reading of the plural of the first personal pronoun are not new; the probable forms anini and nini are well known, but the mutilated readings in two cases have been considered to make the pronunciation somewhat uncertain.

Nouvelles et Mélanges. Halévy thinks that the Tyropoeon of Josephus is the same with the aspoth of Neh. iii. 14 ("dung"), which Josephus read spoth (v. 13)

and rendered "cheese"; he also suggests that the word betyl is connected not with bethel "house of God," but with bethul "young man," or, more probably, with some geographical name.—Huart continues his Chinese miscellanies, and gives a favorable notice of Abou-z-Ziya's Turkish Chrestomathy, Constantinople, 1879, press of Mehrān, which he calls a most happy essay in Turkish literary history.—Aristide Marre furnishes a Malay Bibliography, namely, three works on the Malay language by Captain Badings, of Amsterdam.

Octobre-Novembre-Décembre. The body of this number consists of continuations of articles above mentioned, namely, History of Ethiopia, by René Basset; Supposed Problems in Algebra, by Léon Rodet; Buddhist Studies (How one becomes Arhat), by Léon Feer; and Moslem Numismatics and Metrology, by H. Sauvaire—all valuable treatises, worked out in detail. There is added a note by C. de Harlez, stating his position on the Avestan question; Zoroastrism, he says (against Darmesteter), is not at all a product of an evolution of the old polytheistic religion, but its essential parts sprang from speculations and combinations of the Mazdean priests, perhaps from loans made by them from other cults.

Nouvelles et Mélanges. In addition to the very interesting Chinese Miscellanies, there are notices by Barbier de Meynard of Hartwig Derenbourg's edition of the Arabic Text of Sibawaihi's Kitāb (treatise on grammar), Paris, 1881, and of Charles Rieu's Catalogue of the Persian MSS in the British Museum, Vol. II, 1881.

## 1882.

Janvier. 1. Sur quelques noms arabes qui figurent dans les inscriptions grecques de l'Auranitide, par M. E. Renan. This memoir, reprinted from the Bulletin archéologique français of September, 1856, is an examination of the proper names in a dozen Greek inscriptions copied by J. L. Porter in 1853, and interpreted by T. D. Woolsey in the Journal of the American Oriental Society, V. I (1855). According to Renan, αβεβος is Habīb, μανος Ma'an, θαιμος Taim-allah, μαλχος Mālik, σαλαμανης Salmān, ανσος Aus-allah, ζοβεδος Zobeid, οναινος (corrected by Woolsey from ομαιμός) Honein, and οαιθελός Wāthil. He calls attention to the exclusively Arabic character of the proper names in this region in the middle Semitic period (between the decay of Hebrew and the rise of Islam), and finds in this fact and in the monotheistic form of some of them an indication that the Arabian race was gradually developing politically and religiously for five or six centuries before Mohammed. The fact that the tribe-names are those of individuals who founded families shows, he thinks, that the Arabian heroic period was relatively modern, and from the accuracy of the Greek transcriptions he infers the relatively pure character of the Hellenism of the Roman province of Arabia.

2. Matériaux pour servir à l'histoire de la numismatique et de la métrologie musulmanes, traduits ou receuillis et mis en ordre, par M. H. Sauvaire, Consul de France. Première partie : Monnaies. (Suite.) A valuable collection of materials, but too detailed to admit of an abstract.

Nouvelles et Mélanges. Léon Feer commends Huart's edition of Les Instructions Familières of Tchou-pō-lou (a treatise on practical ethics), with text, and

free and literal translations, for beginners in Chinese, 1881, and takes occasion to insist on the necessity of a scientific scheme of transliteration.—De Harlez has a highly commendatory notice of the Pehlevi text Dīnkart "La Forteresse de la Foi," edited for the first time, with Zend transcription, Guzerati and English translations, explanatory notes, and glossary of difficult terms, by Destur Peshotun Behramji Semgana, 1881.—Barbier de Meynard mentions a recent translation of some plays of Molière into Turkish, by Véfyk Pasha.

Février-Mars. 1. Continuation of the Moslem Numismatics and Metrology, by Sauvaire.

- 2. Bibliographie Ottomane. Notice des livres turcs, arabes, et persans imprimés à Constantinople durant la période 1297-1298 de l'hégire (1880-1881). Par M. Clément Huart. Deuxième article. (See Journ. Asiat., Oct. 1880.) According to Huart, the Turkish literary renaissance is advancing slowly but surely. At Constantinople are published nine newspapers in Turkish (of which three are official), one in Arabic, and one in Persian; and for the foreign communities six in French, seven in Greek, six in Armenian, and two in Spanish-Hebrew. Egypt has five Arabic papers, one Arabic-Turkish, three French, two Italian, one English, and one Greek; Beirut six Arabic, one Arabic-French, and three weekly Reviews in Arabic; Smyrna one Turkish paper, one French, two Greek, and one Armenian; Salonica one Turkish and one Greek; and Eastern Rumelia one Bulgarian-French, one Greek-French, and one Turkish. Official newspapers are printed in the principal places of twenty-four provinces of the empire; there are forty-five printing establishments at Stambul, and twenty-three at Galata and Pera. Huart's list comprises 218 books, in the departments of theology, religious sciences, legislation, literature, ethics, poetry, history, biography, various sciences, linguistics, composition, and grammar, together with periodicals.
- 3 Une nouvelle inscription cambodgienne, par M. Abel Bergaigne. The first facsimiles of Cambogian inscriptions were given about nine years ago by Francis Garnier; the alphabet was easily made out, and two years ago Aymonier, then resident in Camboge, and well acquainted with the modern tongue of the country, published interpretations of the ancient language. Professor Kern, of Leiden, had already given translations of some Sanskrit inscriptions, which language was also employed by former kings of Camboge. Bergaigne gives transcription and partial translation of the new inscription of which a facsimile has been obtained by Aymonier. The Sanskrit portion contains an address to Çiva, and refers to the consecration of a linga in the year 976 of the Çaka era (A. D. 1054), the style being that of the Upanishads. The translation of the Cambogian portion Bergaigne leaves to Aymonier.

Nouvelles et Mélanges. É. Senart offers some remarks in an Appendix on conclusions as to the relative age of Pracrit dialects derived from linguistic considerations; he purposes presenting his view in full either in the epilogue to his Essay on the Inscriptions of Piyadasi, or in the linguistic memoir which is to accompany the last volume of his edition of the Mahāvastu. His point is that the degree of linguistic degeneration in writings is not always a sure mark of age, for the reason that in some of these a sort of artificial dialect exists,

resulting from a learned adoption of ancient forms; he cites the coexistence in the same writings of st and th, corresponding to Sanskrit sht, the presence or absence of the r, and the conjunction of Pracrit and Sanskrit forms. He would not limit this phenomenon to inscriptions, but finds it also in the Buddhist Sanskrit. He concludes that we have not the right to found a priori on the consecrated orthography of the dialects any theory of their antiquity, though they all rest in the last analysis on real languages which at a given moment were popular; and as to the Buddhist Sanskrit in particular, he thinks there are indications that it is anterior to the Pracrit orthographic type, in the form in which the latter is fixed by the grammarians.-In a second appendix Antoine d'Abbadie defends his non-Semitic translation of the Ethiopian coin-word Jan by "elephant" against the Semitic rendering "judge" proposed by Halévy. The latter takes it to be equivalent to dayan; d'Abbadie states, from personal observation, that the modern Amara do not change Ge'ez daya into ja, and that he has got the rendering "elephant" from native Kamites, and found it in an ancient chronicle applied in this sense to the king .- Imbault-Huart continues his Chinese Miscellanies, giving an account of the reigning family, together with anecdotes of the Mongol dynasty, and an apologue.—There is a notice by Pavet de Courteille of the Codex Cumanicus of the Library of Saint Mark, Venice, recently published, with prolegomena, notes, and glossaries, by Count Kuun, member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (Budapesth, 1880). The MS contains a rich store of vocabularies and texts of this dialect, spoken by a people who dwelt formerly on the east of the Caspian Sea, but have since been displaced. The language is described as resembling that of the Turkish tribes of Southern Siberia. The present publication is awarded high praise by the reviewer .- Barbier de Meynard reports that the mission to Tunis, recently despatched by the Minister of Public Instruction, has collected a good number of Arabic inscriptions, posterior to the third century of the Hegira, interesting for the history of Arabic palaeography in Northern Africa.

Avril-Mai-Juin. 1. Continuation of Moslem Numismatics and Metrology, by H. Sauvaire.

- 2. Études Bouddhiques. Mésaventures des Arhats, par M. Léon Feer. The author, in continuation of his Buddhist Studies, here describes the contents of the Tenth Decad of the Avadāna-Çataka, under four heads: the misfortunes of the heroes; the culpable acts to which these are due; the virtuous actions of the same heroes; the attainment of the state of Arhat. The crimes, repentance and virtues are mostly ceremonial, and the sufferings physical. It appears that the greatest crimes do not prevent a man from attaining the state of perfect union with Buddha, and this state does not save him from punishment. Good actions counterbalance bad, yet not always perfectly. We have in these narratives an unsuccessful attempt to solve the enigma of the relation between moral acts and the events of life.
- 3. Études sur l'épigraphie du Yémen, par MM. Joseph et Hartwig Derenbourg. This is a learned and valuable discussion of several Sabean inscriptions and words, with a good many attempts at conjectural emendations of the texts, the correctness of which can be tested only by further researches. Among other things the authors propose for the signification of satar (which commonly

means "to write"), "to draw a line, mark out the limits of a country" (as in the Arab. stem hatta), render ba. half by "in the province," and find evidence that Fari' was the last Yemenite king of the second period, and his sons begin the third period, when the centre of gravity passed westward to Raidan. Messrs. Derenbourg intend to continue these studies, from which we may hope for additions to our knowledge of Yemenite epigraphy.

- 4. Étude sur les inscriptions de Piyadasi, par M. Senart. Deuxième Partie. On the edicts of the column of Delhi or of Firuz Shah, with transcription, translation, and grammatical notes. The excellence of Senart's work is abundantly acknowledged by scholars in this department.
- 5. Essai sur les inscriptions du Safa, par M. J. Halévy. (Suite et fin.) Halévy here concludes his admirable work on the Safa inscriptions by a sketch of the grammar of the language, a short account of the history of the Arabs of the north, a discussion of Safa names of men and gods, and of Greek transliterations of Arabic and Nabathean names, and a vocabulary of the Safean language. This tongue he holds to be Arabic, but different from the dialect of Hijaz, approaching in some points the Hebrew and Phenician, occupying, in fact, a position midway between these last and the Arabic of the Kuran.

Nouvelles et Mélanges. Stanislas Guyard gives notes on four words of the inscriptions of Van, and August Eisenlohr, Professor of Egyptology at Heidelberg, replies to the criticisms of L. Rodet on his translation of an Egyptian mathematical manual (1877).—Ch. Brosselard, in a letter to Renan, announces his intention to bring out a Berber-French dictionary, a work which will be welcome to students of the Berber or Libyan dialects.—In his Chinese Miscellanies Huart relates, among other things, the fortunes of General Ward, a native of Salem, Mass., who acted as Free Lance on the imperial side in the Taiping rebellion, and was killed in battle (1862).—Rubens Duval has a notice of Joseph Derenbourg's edition of Deux versions hébraïques du livre de Kalīlāh et Dimnāh (49th part of the Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes-Études), Paris, Vieweg, 1881. The first of these versions, attributed to Rabbi Joel, is especially valuable for the criticism of the Arabic text from which it was made, and which was a rendering of the Pehlvi version of the original Hindu work.

C. H. Toy.

## MNEMOSYNE, Vol. X, Part I.

The first article in this number (pp. 1-26) is by S. A. Naber, entitled "Euripidea," in which he comments on various passages in the Rhesus, Alcestis, Hippolytus, Medea, Andromache, and Troades. In Rhes. 274, μάχας πρὸ χειρῶν καὶ δόρη βαστάζομεν, he objects to explaining μάχας by zeugma, and proposes μάχαι, which has been already suggested by Vater. On Rhes. 327-8 ὁρθῶς ἀτίζεις κἀπίμομφος εἰ φίλοις δέχον δὲ τοὺς θέλοντας ὡφελεῖν πόλιν, which are addressed by the chorus to Hector, who has just rebuked Rhesus for his late arrival, his comment is: "quid est ineptire nisi hoc est? duo versiculi sunt, qui adversis frontibus concurrunt, uti vides. Unum semicolum si addideris, ex his

tenebris emerges:  $\partial \rho \theta \bar{\omega}_{\varsigma}$  ἀτίζεις κὰπίμομφος εἶ φίλοις," taking  $\partial \rho \theta \bar{\omega}_{\varsigma}$  in the sense of καλῶς ἔχειν, χαίρειν as explained by Plut. Mor. p. 22 f. ἐν τῷ συνηθεία κ α λ ῶ ς φαμὲν ἔ χειν καὶ χαίρειν κελείνομεν, ὁταν μὴ δεχώμεθα μηδὲ λαμβάνωμεν. He thinks the καλῶς in St. Mark vii 6, 9 is perhaps to be explained in the same way. On 646, which is addressed by Pallas, in the guise of Aphrodite, to Paris, θάρσει 'φυλάσσει σ' ἡδε πρευμενὴς Κύπρις, he insists on writing φυλάσσω, since though one often speaks of oneself in the third person, "nemo hoc facit dum vult declarare ipsum se praesentem adesse." Many examples of this are given; but it is remarked that in Iph. Taur. 770 ἡ 'ν Αὐλίδι σφαγεῖσ' ἑπιστέλλει τάδε ζῶσ' Ἰφιγένεια, the third person is rightly given; for the first would have prematurely revealed her.

In Alc. 161 he would read ἐκπρεπῶς ἠσκήσατο for εὐπρεπῶς: "nam honesta mulier semper εὐπρεπῶς vestita est, sed ultimo vitae die fecit quod festis diebus ceteroquin solebat facere et ἐκπρεπῶς ἡσκήσατο." In Alc. 321, οὐδ' ἐς τρίτην μοι μηνὸς ἔρχεται κακόν, he will not accept Wecklein's τριταῖον ἡμαρ nor Herwerden's τρίτον μοι φέγγος, "sed multo leniore medicina rescribi poterit, οὐδ' ἐς τρίτην μοι σμῆνος ἔρχεται κακῶν."

In Med. 11 he would read ἀλλάσσουσα μὲν . . . αὐτὴ δὲ κτέ : "hoc dicit nutrix : propter Peliae caedem coacta quidem fuit solum vertere et Corinthum migrare, sed mansit cum marito fidelis concordia." Το confirm this use of ἀλλάσσευν Plat. Polit. 289 e is quoted: οἱ δὲ πόλιν ἐκ πόλεως ἀλλάσσουτες κατὰ θάλατταν καὶ πεζή.

On Hipp. 42, δείξω δὲ Θησεῖ πρᾶγμα κὰκφανήσεται, he says: "quid unquam inepte abundabit si post δείξω Θησεῖ πρᾶγμα probare debebimus κάκφανήσεται?" and proposes κὰκμανήσεται sc. Θησεύς. On 79, δσοις διδακτὸν μηδέν, he writes: "credamus licet virtutem nobis a natura tribui, disciplina non comparari, legerit denique Penthesileae filius Platonis Protagoram, tamen affirmare non poterit disciplinam virtuti officere, eumque prae ceteris σωφρονεῖν qui nihil didicerit," and proposes δσοις ἄλαστον μηδέν, quoting the words of Theseus in 877 βοᾶ δέλτος ἄλαστα. In 982 for τὰ γὰρ δὴ πρῶτ' ἀνέστραπται πάλιν he suggests 'στῶτ'. In 1085, for πάλαι ξενοῦσθαι τόνδε προῦννέποντά με, he proposes 'ξεῶσθαι, referring to the reply of Hippol. in 1087 σὺ δ' αὐτός, εῖ σοι θνμός, ἑξώθει χθονός.

On Androm. 177, & μὴ παρ' ἡμᾶς ἔσφερ', he writes: "quia peregrini mores introducuntur et εἰσάγονται nec feruntur nec portantur neque adeo φέρονται vel εἰσφέρονται, malim ἔσφρες": and, referring to Cobet's collection of the instances of this verb, V. L. p. 575, "quod exempla declarant . . . verbum φρεῖν usurpatur fere de iis quae clam fiunt . . . quo certius pateat in Androm. itidem ἔσφρες reponendum esse." On 1272, πᾶσιν γὰρ ἀνθρώποισιν ἡδε πρὸς θεῶν ψῆφος κέκρανται, κατθανεῖν τ' ὀφείλεται, he writes: "per se quidem nihil est cur his verbis offendamur . . . est autem sciendum, in Parisino Codice τ' omissum esse; et quia notum est apud Euripidem histriones saepe partium suarum quasi oblitos sese ad spectatores convertere, qua de re Cobetus dixit in Var. Lect. p. 587, vide num probari debeat, ἡδε πρὸς θεῶν ψῆφος κέκρανται · κατθανεῖν ὀφείλετε." But Cobet's remark is: "saepius enim Ευτίριdes veluti argumenti oblitus spectatores admonet in cavea sedentes."

On Troad. 440 he writes: "sine sensu Casandra vaticinatur de Solis bubus, αὶ σάρκα φωνήεσσαν ήσουσίν ποτε, πικρὰν "Οδυσσεῖ γῆρυν. Respicit poeta, quod etiam pueri intelligunt, Homeri verba in Odyss. μ 394:

τοῖσιν δ' ἀὐτίκ' ἐπειτα θεοὶ τέραα προϋφαινον · εἰρπον μὲν ῥινοί, κρέα δ' ἀμφ' ὀβελοῖς ἐμεμύκει, ὀπταλέα τε καὶ ὡμά · βοῶν δ' ὡς γίγνετο φωνή.

Sed φωνὴν ἰέναι quid sit, satis novimus; quid autem est σάρκα ἰέναι? Kirchhoffius putavit satis esse, si rescriberet ἔξουσιν, sed eum ipsum fugere non potuit, quam parum poeta digna ea 'locutio sit. Nec magis dicere possis quomodo facillimum verbum ἔξουσιν mutari potuerit in ἤσουσιν. Sed quid cesso veram lectionem expromere? Lege: ὧν σάρκα φωνήεσσαν εὕσουσίν ποτε, πικρὰν 'Οδυσσεῖ γῆριν. Demit aliquid de fabula Casandra atque portentum etiam sic satis magnum fecit paulo credibilius. Accusativum πικρὰν γῆρινν retulerim ad adiectivum φωνήεσσαν.''

The second article (pp. 27-41) is by Cobet, on the fragments of Eunapius, in Müller's Hist. Graec. Fragm. There is much that is interesting in these notes, though only a few extracts can be made. "Ad fragm. I. Solus omnium Historicorum Eunapius profitetur se iudice Chronologiam in historia scribenda esse inutilem : οἱ ἀκριβεῖς λογισμοὶ τῶν χρόνων ὡσπερ ἀκλητοι μάρτυρες αὐτομάτως έπεισιόντες ές ταῦτα 'ΩΦΕΛΟΥΣΙΝ ΟΥΔΕΝ. et post pauca: κενή τις καὶ ἀχρεῖος ή περὶ τοὺς χρόνους διατριβή καὶ σχολή. idque verum esse levissimis quibusdam argumentis demonstrare sat agit, veluti his: τίς λόγος πρὸς ἱστορίας τέλος εἰδέναι ότι τὴν ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ναυμαχίαν ἐνίκων οἱ "Ελληνες κυνὸς ἐπιτέλλοντος; τί δ' ὁφελος ήν τοις έντυγχάνουσιν είς ωφέλειαν ιστορικής χρείας εί κατά ταύτην έτέχθη την ήμέραν ό δείνα καὶ μελοποιός ἀνέσχεν ἡ τραγφδὸς ἄριστος." It is shown that Eunapius constantly borrows from Plutarch without naming him. "Fragm. 14, 2. ό 'Pωμαΐος Μάριος τὸν ἀντίπαλον Σύλλαν διπλοῦν θηρίον ἀποκαλῶν ἀλώπεκα καὶ λέοντα μᾶλλον ἔφασκε φοβεῖσθαι τὴν ἀλώπεκα. Plutarchus in Sulla 28, 18. Κάρβωνά φασιν είπειν ως άλωπεκι και λέοντι πολεμών έν τη Σύλλα ψυχη κατοικούσιν ύπο της άλωπεκος ἀνιῷτο μᾶλλον. Memoriter haec referens Eunapius pro Carbone, quem non noverat, notissimum Marium substituit." "Fragm. 24. φασὶν 'Αλεξάνδρου θειάζοντος έαυτὸν έκ Διὸς "Ολυμπιάδα θρυπτομένην φάσκειν " οὐ παύσεται τὸ μειράκιον διαβάλλον με πρὸς τὴν Ἡραν.' Sumsit perlepidum Olympiadis dictum ex Plutarchi vita Alexandri cap. 3. φασίν αὐτὴν (Olympiadem) λέγειν 'οὐ παύσεταί με διαβάλλων 'Αλέξανδρος πρὸς τὴν "Ηραν.' Plutarchus temporum gnarus non potuit Alexandrum μειράκιον appellare, ut Eunapius." Emendations are suggested for a large number of the fragments, many of which must be looked upon as certain. E.g. "Fragm. 48 de Theodosio scribit eum initio imperii magnas opes inconsulto absumsisse καθάπερ μειράκιον ΜΕΛΛόπλουτου πατρὸς ἐπὶ χρόνω πολλὰ χρήματα σεσωρευκότος διὰ σωφροσύνην καὶ φειδὰ . . . μαίνεται. Unice verum est Νεόπλουτον. Ne est quidem Graecum vocabulum μελλόπλουτος neque sanam notionem continet. Μελλόγαμος et μελλόνυμφος recte dicitur qui iamiam uxorem ducturus est, qui in eo est ut νυμφίος fiat, sed filius familiae divite patre superstite semper est μελλόπλουτος. Manifesto comparatur Theodosius cum adolescente dissoluto qui patrimonium recens acceptum prodigit et dilapidat. Νεόπλουτος δέσποινα legitur in vitis Sophist. p. 99." On the style of this author Cobet writes: " Eunapius in Historiis utitur oratione perinde putida et affectata atque in Sophistarum vitis. Amplificat omnia, exaggerat et quasi inflat tumore verborum. Magna laus est οὐρανομήκης. Qui imbibit aliquid χανδὸν ἀρύεται, ἐμφορεῖται, κατεμφορεῖται. Qui se aliquo confert συνωθείται ποι, et plurima habet de genere hoc similia Quae

Veteres parce ac raro usurpant apud eum ad fastidium usque repetuntur . . . Alibi formis Ionicis abutitur, ut passim in καλόν τι χρῆμα, πολύ τι χρῆμα et similibus compluribus . . . et saepe θέσθαι pro ποιήσασθαι . . . et antistes Deae Syriae fr. 94 Herodoteo vocabulo μελεδωνὸς τῆς Συρίας θεοῦ nominatur. Non tantum in verbis, sed etiam in rebus Eunapium omnem modum excedere ostendet fragmentum 76 ; quum vellet dicere Romanum ducem esse mulierosum et temulentum dixit eum πλείους ἔχειν παλλακίδας τῶν στρατιωτῶν καὶ πλείονα πίνειν ἡ ὁσα πάντες οἰ ἄνθρωποι πίνουσιν."

The next article (pp. 42-66) is also by Cobet, on passages of the Epistolographi Graeci, ed. Hercher. Only one or two of his notes can be given. "Alciphr. III I, p. 67 οὐκέτ' εἰμὶ ἐν ἐμαυτΗΙ, ὡ μῆτερ. In tali re constanter et veteres et sequiores dicebant ἐν ἐμαντΗΣ non sum apud me. Arist. Vesp. 642, ὡς οὐτος ήδη σκορδινάται κάστιν οὐκ ἐν αὐτοῦ, ubi Ravennas mendose, ut Graeculi solent, exhibet ἐν αὐτφ." [But apparently all MSS read in Xen. An. I, 5, 17 ἐν ἑαντφ έγένετο, and in Soph. Phil. 950 έν σαντῷ γενοῦ.] On Julian. Epist. IX, § 3, p. 340, τὸν μακαριώτατον Κωνστάντιον ἐρεῖτε, we are told to read "quod de defunctis usitatum est τὸν μακαρίτην Κωνστάντιον," and it is explained that originally the epithet μακαρίτης was used to express the highest degree of happiness of the living as well as of the dead. Cf. Aesch. Pers. 633; Ar. Plut. 555. But as such happiness could rarely be predicated of the living "ad eos trahi coeptum est qui vitae laboribus et aerumnis defuncti beatam aetatem agerent." And so from the time of Menander the dead in general came to be called μακαρῖται. " Photius Μακαρίτας: τοὺς τεθνηκότας Μένανδρος. Timaeus, v. Βάλλ' ἐς μακαρίαν: τοὺς ἀποθονόντας μακαρίτας ἔθος καλεῖν. Neque tamen promiscue omnes, qui diem obiissent, μακαρίτας appellitabant, sed quos quisque in vita dilectos aut cognitos habuisset . . . Nullus hodie Menandri locus superest in quo ὁ μακαρίτης eo sensu legatur, sed apud Alciphronem legitur, qui pleraque omnia sua a Menandro sumsit . . . Tandem apud Christianos μακαρίται dicebantur omnes, quorum memoria pie colebatur, vel apostolorum vel principum, qui Christianis favissent, veluti ὁ μακαρίτης Παῦλος, ὁ μακαρίτης Πέτρος, ὁ μακαρίτης Κωνσταντίνος . . . et similia passim."

The next article (pp. 67-95) is by van Herwerden, ad Comicos Graecos. We have first notes on several fragments which appear in Kock's recent edition, and also on certain passages of Aristophanes. It is natural that the fragments referred to should be those as to which the judgment of the writer differs from that of the editor; and therefore, as no general opinion is expressed as to the character of the edition, none can be inferred from the unfavorable tone of most of these criticisms. On Crates, fr. 14 for the corrupt αὖτη, παρασκεύαζε σαυτὸν, Kock proposes ἄμης. But Herwerden shows that it must be some kind of "convivii instrumentum" which is addressed, and suggests himself ψυκτήρ or κρατήρ, preferring the former. On Pherecr. fr. 1, ως ολιγόσιτος ήσθ' άρ', δς κατεσθίεις τῆς ἡμέρας μακρᾶς τριήρους σιτία, he admits that his own previous suggestion that μακρᾶς is to be taken with ἡμέρας has been rightly rejected by Kock. It is equally impossible, however, to connect it with τριήρους "quasi βραχείαι τριήρεις exstiterint. Eadem res profligat Meinekii coniecturam μικρᾶς," and the reading μικρού is suggested. "Triremis cibaria diurna erant quatuor ferme medimnout interlocutor hominem paene tantum consumere cum comica exaggeratione dicere potuerit." On Aristoph. fr. 230, in which Kock inserts εὐπετῶς he writes: "peccavit contra sermonem comicorum, qui numquam εὐπετῶς, (nec, hoc sensu εὐχερῶς), sed constanter ῥαδίως dixerunt. Verum sermonis proprietatem parum curare solet editor, qui Pherecrati fr. 143, pro λεπτάς reddi iussit λευράς, in Aristophane fr. 640 tolerandum putat ἐξαχοίνικον pro ἐκχοίνικον, apud eundem fr. 898 retinuit formam pessimam ὁφλων pro ὀφλών, alia quae referre taedet." On Arist. Thesm. 930, οὐτος τί κύπτεις; Δῆσον αὐτὸν εἰσάγων, he writes: "Quia severior grammatica, quam pedestres sequuntur, postularet ἐσαγαγών, non inutile erit monere saepe Aristophanem, spectatorum auribus consulentem, in talibus uti Praesentis participio. Cf. Nub. 1213; Pac. 882; Vesp. 170, 177; Av. 658; Eq. 1367; Ran. 981; Pac. 49, 288, 1219. Similiter ἰών et τρέχων pro ἐλθών et δραμών, quae res olim fefellit Meinekium ad Plut. 1103 ἀλλὶ ἐκκάλει τὸν δεσπότην τρέχων ταχύ, adnotantem: 'expectabam Aoristum, quo in tali oratione si recte memini, constanter Aristophanes utitur.' Male meminerat vir egregius et, si quis alius, μνημονικός. Vid. Pac. 259; Nub. 780, 1164; Ach. 176."

The last article (pp. 96-112) contains notes by Cobet on Madvig's edition of Livy (1861-4). A large number of these are devoted to the expulsion of 'puerilia et insulsa additamenta,' which he is astonished to see 'etiam in antiquissimis Codicibus circumferri.' As a specimen may be quoted: "multas saepe vidi absurdas interpolationes indoctorum hominum, sed neminem qui magis deliraret quam is qui apud Livium XXI 40, 7, ad verba; duabus partibus peditum equitumque in transitu Alpium amissis, annotavit: quum plures paene perierint quam supersunt. Imperitus homuncio ne hoc quidem sciebat quid esset duabus partibus amissis, atque hi nugatores nos in Livio legendo ludificantur." On VII 17, 4: consul legatique ac tribuni puerorum ritu vana MIRACULA paventes irridebant increpabantque, he writes: "ridicule miracula in tali re ponuntur. Lege vana TERRIcula, ut V 9, 7; XXXIV II, 7."

On XXXVIII 23, 8: Claudius . . . ad quadraginta millia hominum auctor est caesa, Valerius Antias, qui MAGIS immodicus in numero augendo esse solet, non plus decem millia: he writes: "mendosum est MAGIS IMMODICUS, quae verba coniungi non possunt. Dici potuit aut; qui ALIAS immodicus, aut ut pressius ductus literarum sequamur: qui IN ALIIS immodicus esse solet. Cf. XXXIII 10, si Valerio quis credat omnium rerum immodice numerum augenti, et de eodem XXVI 49, adeo nullus mentiendi modus est. Nempe quum scorpiones capti essent ad sexaginta, Valerius undeviginti millia capta esse scripserat." On XLV 32, 3, quos cum liberis maioribus quam quindecim annos natis praecedere in Italiam placeret, he writes: "non est haec in tali re Latina orationis forma, sed cum liberis maioribus quindecim annis, expuncto quam et natis. Duplex loquendi genus confusum est: maioribus annis quindecim et plus quam quindecim annos natis. Cf. XL 37, 3, maiores duodecim annis omnes coronati; XLII 34, 11, viginti duo stipendia annua in exercitu emerita habeo et maior annis sum quinquaginta.

In parts of some pages otherwise unoccupied Cobet continues his notes on Galen.

C. D. MORRIS.

HERMES. 1881.

No. III 1

Points of language determining the chronological order of the dialogues of Plato ("Sprachliche Criterien für die Chronologie der Platonischen Dialoge"), by W. Dittenberger. In this noteworthy contribution Professor Dittenberger first takes up Plato's usage of  $\mu\eta\nu$ , as observed in the following combinations: καὶ μήν, ἀλλὰ μήν, τί μήν, γε μήν, ἀλλὰ—μήν. A conspectus is presented on p. 326 exhibiting the occurrence of these five combinations in each dialogue-The Timaeus, Critias and Apology are omitted, there being but very little conversation in them. The most striking result seems to be the following: The Crito, Euthyphro, Protagoras, Charmides, Laches, Hippias, Euthydemus, Meno, Gorgias, Cratylus, Phaedo, are found to be entirely without τί μήν?, γε μήν, ἀλλὰ —μήν. These dialogues Dittenberger groups together as constituting the first of the two main sections of Plato's works. In the second group, however, τί μήν and the rest are of very frequent occurrence, the dialogues being the following: Symposium, Lysis, Phaedrus, Respublica, Theaetetus, Parmenides, Philebus, Sophista, Politicus, Leges. Now as to the inferences which may be drawn from the above, Professor Dittenberger proceeds with good sense. He makes no use of his results for the purpose of determining the Platonic canon, and contents himself with suggesting that Plato's style in this particular underwent a change in the later period of his composition. In the body of the Xenophontean productions Dittenberger also notes a similar progression in the way μήν is used.

As to the chronological dividing line between the two periods of Plato's literary life, Dittenberger suggests 385 B. C. (approximately), because of the allusion in Symp. 193a to the διοικισμός of Mantinea; and conjectures that the free use of  $\tau \ell$   $\mu \eta \nu$  is derived from Plato's first journey to the West.

A further point investigated in the present paper is the relative occurrence of  $\omega\sigma\pi\epsilon\rho$  and  $\kappa\alpha\vartheta\acute{a}\pi\epsilon\rho$ . In the Respublica  $\omega\sigma\pi\epsilon\rho$  occurs 212 times,  $\kappa\alpha\vartheta\acute{a}\pi\epsilon\rho$  but 5 times; in the Leges on the other hand  $\kappa\alpha\vartheta\acute{a}\pi\epsilon\rho$  (148) decidedly prevails over  $\omega\sigma\pi\epsilon\rho$  (24). Now the dialogues resembling the Leges in the employment of  $\kappa\alpha\vartheta\acute{a}\pi\epsilon\rho$  are: The Sophista,  $\omega\sigma\pi\epsilon\rho$  9,  $\kappa\alpha\vartheta\acute{a}\pi\epsilon\rho$  14, Politicus 16:34, Philebus 9:27, Timaeus 10:18, Critias 2:5. The use of  $\omega\sigma\pi\epsilon\rho\epsilon\acute{a}$  and of  $\kappa\alpha\vartheta a\pi\epsilon\rho\epsilon\acute{a}$  corresponds. Aristophanes too, whose date of composition is nearer to the earlier period of Plato's writing, uses  $\omega\sigma\pi\epsilon\rho$  almost exclusively.

A similar observation is made as to the use of  $\mu \hat{\epsilon} \chi \rho \iota \pi \epsilon \rho$  (used synonymously with  $\mu \hat{\epsilon} \chi \rho \iota \sigma \hat{\nu}$  and  $\hat{\epsilon} \omega \varsigma$ ). It occurs almost exclusively in the dialogues of Plato's later age, viz. in the Leges, Philebus, Timaeus, Critias, Sophista, Politicus, etc.

A similar note is made by Dittenberger on the pleonastic combination  $\tau \dot{a} \chi a$   $i\sigma \omega \varsigma$ .

The paper evidently suggests in what direction Platonic studies may now profitably be undertaken, and the results of this and similar investigations promise to be of more substantial value than classifications and combinations based mainly on material analyses.

P. Stengel writes on Greek sacrifices to the winds. They are met with from the times of the Persian wars on, and probably were copied from those of the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> See American Journal of Philology, III 103.

Phenician sailors. Sanctuaries are known to have existed at Athens, Sikyon, Megalopolis, Thurii. The ritual observed resembled that employed in sacrificing to the dead.

H. van Herwerden. Homerica, pp. 351-379. The writer thinks that Homeric scholars nowadays observe an ultra-conservative attitude with regard to the Alexandrian arrangement of the text. While commending the recent critical labors of Nauck, he himself makes ample contributions in the present paper. Not less than II3 passages are commented upon, of which a little more than one-half are in the Odyssey. In a few instances his remarks confirm that which has already been established; e. g. in  $\Theta$  108 and  $\Psi$  470 he supports the exclusion of these lines by the Alexandrians. In  $\iota$  97 he defends  $\lambda a \vartheta \ell \sigma \vartheta a \iota$  against Nauck; in O 680 he supports  $\sigma v \nu a \epsilon \iota \rho \tau a \iota$  against the same editor.

In the great majority of cases, however, Herwerden attacks the established reading, having no patience with the "average critic" (p. 360, l. 8); on  $\Pi$  736 "Verba pessime depravata sine suspicione legi mirarer, si nescirem nihil non aequo animo tolerare in Homero plerosque criticos."

In many cases syntactical considerations prompt the change, ε. g. T 208 he substitutes  $\tau \varepsilon \nu \xi a \sigma \vartheta a \iota$  for  $\tau \varepsilon \nu \xi \varepsilon \sigma \vartheta a \iota$  (after  $\dot{a}\nu \dot{\omega} \gamma \varepsilon \iota \nu$ ), "nam futurum post jubendi verbum, etiam ubi jussa non statim perficienda sunt (sic enim futurum hic explicant) soloecum est." In  $\Omega$  586 he substitutes the optative for  $\dot{a}\lambda \dot{\iota}\tau \eta \tau a \iota$ , In  $\lambda$  10 ( $\tau \dot{\gamma} \nu \dot{\delta}' \dot{a}\nu \varepsilon \mu \dot{\delta} \zeta \tau \varepsilon \kappa \nu \beta \varepsilon \rho \nu \dot{\eta}\tau \eta \zeta \tau' \dot{\iota}\vartheta \nu \nu \varepsilon$ ) he reads  $\dot{\iota}\vartheta \nu \nu o \nu$ : "duo subjecta non unam notionem exprimunt sed duas penitus diversas." Other syntactical remarks are made on  $\rho$  413,  $\iota$  384 sqq.,  $\sigma$  452 sq.

As to etymology we glean a few points:  $\tau\rho a\pi\epsilon i\omega\mu\epsilon\nu$  ( $\vartheta$  292) H. derives not from  $\tau\rho\epsilon\pi\omega$  ( $\tau\rho a\pi\delta\mu\epsilon\nu$ ), but from  $\tau\epsilon\rho\pi\omega$  per metathesin, quoting the construction  $\dot{\epsilon}\nu$   $\phi i\lambda \delta\tau\eta\tau\iota$   $\tau\rho a\pi\epsilon i\omega\mu\epsilon\nu$   $\dot{\epsilon}\nu$   $\psi i\lambda \delta\tau\eta\tau\iota$   $\tau\rho a\pi\epsilon i\omega\mu\epsilon\nu$   $\dot{\epsilon}\nu$   $\psi i\nu\eta\vartheta\epsilon\nu\tau\epsilon$   $\Xi$  314. Insisting on the primitive consonant which must have existed as the initial sound of  $i\vartheta\epsilon$  ( $\dot{\eta}\vartheta\epsilon$ ), he removes the  $\nu$  movable in  $\iota$ , 186, citing many passages with an apparent hiatus of a similar kind A form "omni analogia destitutum" such as  $\dot{\psi}\dot{\epsilon}\bar{\gamma}\lambda\iota\epsilon$  (p. 360), P 143, is to him "admodum suspectum." Regard for logical consistency and for taste suggests to him critical remarks on P 742 sqq.,  $\Sigma$  25 ( $\nu\epsilon\kappa\tau a\rho\epsilon\omega$ ),  $\Omega$  649 ( $\dot{\epsilon}\pi\iota\kappa\epsilon\rho\tau o\mu\epsilon\omega$ ). A number of lines are bracketed,  $\epsilon$ . g. I 394,  $\delta$  144–146 ( $\epsilon$  32–40, "valde mihi suspecti sunt"),  $\kappa$  415–417,  $\epsilon$  39,  $\epsilon$  201,  $\epsilon$  554,  $\epsilon$  107.

To restore the ancient form, H. favors slight change; of two emendations he favors that which (p. 378) "lenitate magis commendatur," and p. 367 "locum obscurum et corruptum leni manu sic refinxerim," etc.<sup>2</sup>

E. Maas (Florence) writes on the "List of Commentators on Aratus." There are given in Cod. Vat. 191, fol. 2096, a number of names of Greek writers on astronomical subjects. The title, however, "oi  $\pi \epsilon \rho i \tau o \tilde{v} \pi o \iota \eta \tau o \tilde{v}$  (Aratus)  $\sigma \nu \nu \tau a \tilde{\xi} \acute{a} \mu \epsilon \nu o \iota,$ " is palpably erroneous, since the list given includes many authors earlier than Aratus. Maas has now discovered in Cod. Vat. Graec. 381 a very similar list with the heading "oi  $\pi \epsilon \rho i \tau o \tilde{v} \pi o \lambda o \nu \sigma \nu \nu \tau \acute{a} \tilde{\xi} a \nu \tau \epsilon \varepsilon,$ " and infers that both lists are derived from the same source, viz. a catalogue of works or authors

<sup>1</sup> Which had been done before by Veitch s. v. τέρπω, ed. 1879.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> A few misprints occur. On p. 372, l. 8 from below read ω ς ö τ ε instead of ως öτι; on p. 377, l. 8 from above read cum instead of eum.

referred to in some particular work on astronomy (no longer extant), and that both titles are improvised.

E. Albrecht (Berlin) publishes an exhaustive and laborious paper on "Repeated verses and parts of verses in Vergil." The main topics discussed are: I. Set phrases referring to recurrent matters. II. Lines from different books. Here we find the interesting statement (p. 407) that in the Aeneid with two exceptions (V 89, X 767) all repeated lines in similes are derived from the Georgics. III. Intentional repetitions. IV. Lines in the Aeneid which are less apt in one passage than in the other. A summary is given on p. 433 sqq.

In questions of genuineness Albrecht generally takes a conservative view, declining to accept the strictures of Peerlkamp and of Ribbeck. Some imperfections are referred to the incompleted condition in which Vergil left his last poem. As a rule no verse is repeated more than once, and on the whole A. remarks p. 432: "How very eager Vergil is to vary the phrasing where the subject-matter is identical"; as in describing daybreak, nightfall, the fury of the winds and of the sea, the din of battle. Of course every one will ask himself: Did Vergil try to live up to his Homeric model in this particular? One can hardly say yes. For while, as to Homeric repetition, "ratio haec (Heyne ap. Albr. p. 413) tenenda est ne semel bene et proprie enuntiata jejune aut perperam mutentur," one may well doubt whether Vergil entirely trusted his own workmanship in this point.

Th. Mommsen prints an elaborate paper entitled "Schweizer Nachstudien." While in this "aftermath" the points discussed are mainly antiquarian, they do not at all refer exclusively to ancient Helvetia. Some of the topics discussed are: that Caesar did not know the real sources of the Rhone; that none of the vanquished Helvetii were to be admitted to Roman citizenship; what the pagus was—two important inscriptions bearing on the question; what the equites singulares were—what kind of franchise they enjoyed (viz. the jus Latinum)—how these matters were affected by the general bestowal of the Roman franchise by Caracalla; a special office in Helvetia, viz. the "curator civium Romanorum conventus Helvetici." The real bearing of the entire inquiry is announced on p. 483, viz. to mark the fundamental difference between the Graeco-Roman and the Gallo-Germanic custom and idea of political community, the former attaching it entirely to a town or city, the latter treating the individual mode of habitation as entirely secondary.

Mommsen also communicates an inscription from Caiatia: "Q. Folvius Q. f. M. [N.?]) hance aqua m) indeixsit apu(t) P. Atilium L. f. pr(aetorem) urb(anum). The distinguished antiquarian suggests in explanation (assuming the date of the later republic from the form of the letters) that whoever wished to tap a public aqueduct for private uses, such as irrigation, had to notify (indicere here = indicare) the public authorities. Other minor papers are "Analecta Macrobiana," by G. Wissowa; "Ueber den Vaticanus 915 des Theognis" and "Faliskisches," by H. Jordan.

# No. IV.

This number, which is chiefly a Latin one, is the last issued under the ediorial management of Prof. Hübner. His successors are Prof. Kaibel of Rostock and Prof. Robert of Berlin. Professor Hübner himself contributes an elaborate article entitled Exercitus Britannicus, a survey of facts and data gathered from a vast number of sources. The paper well illustrates the fact that epigraphic study is assuming more and more the dignity of an independent branch of historical investigation. For while the author fully and freely refers to Caesar, Strabo, Tacitus, Suetonius, Cassius Dio, his statements, inferences, and conjectures are based, in great part, upon inscriptions. His main endeavor is to trace the composition of the Roman army in Britain during the 250 years from Caesar onward to Claudius Domitian, Hadrian, Antoninus Pius and Septimius Severus. The legions represented in the history of the occupation were the II Augusta, XIV, IX, XX (Valeria Victrix) and the II Adjutrix, the latter taking the part of the XIV in Nero's reign.

The paper, although largely a collection of fragmentary material, strongly sets forth the vast but well-directed machinery manipulated by the imperial administration, the working of which seems to have suffered little from the succession of the emperors in the capital, whatever their character may have been. The auxilia of the legions are described as fully as the legions themselves; and these lists show how skilfully Rome availed herself of military forces drawn from one province to maintain her grasp upon another. While most of the cavalry were from Gaul (9 alae), Germania (i.e. the provinces so-called) furnished a heavy contingent of cohorts (20 or 21) of various tribes, particularly of the Nervii and Batavi. Other auxilia were drawn from the province of Pannonia (from Illyricum, Delmatia, Thracia) and from Hispania. Among such bodies of troops from the provinces certain ones are designated en bloc as Roman citizens; e.g. "cohors secunda Vasconum c(ivium) R(omanorum)," "cohors prima fida Vardullorum civium Romanorum," "ala Hispanorum Vettonum civium Romanorum."

G. Knaack of Stettin presents Studien zu Hygin (the compiler of mythological legends and fables). By copious quotations from Cassiodorus' Variae he tries to make out not merely that Cassiodorus freely transcribed from Hyginus, but that Hyginus, in the form or edition used by Cassiodorus, was very much more copious than he is now found to be in the existing text, which Knaack also shows to be very corrupt. He suggests a number of corrections, and points out the way to further emendations. Some of the writer's inferences are somewhat positive; e. g. p. 589: "Cassiodor hat also mehr inventores als Hygin. Dieses Plus kann aber nicht aus einer nebenher benutzten Quelle geflossen sein, da es eng verknüpft mit dem aus Hygin bekannten auftritt und denselben einheitlichen Charakter traegt." The italics are ours. On the next page we read: "Da Cassiodor . . . die Angabe nach meiner Ausführung allein dem Hyginus verdankt, so muss," etc., i. e. a conjecture is made the premise of a categorical conclusion.

Professor Mommsen in this number prints a paper on the Geographical passages in Ammianus. As he sums up the points of this paper himself in his own way and in his own vein, it may be best simply to reproduce his own statement, for even in this brief summary Mommsen's acuteness and pungency and the almost personal liveliness of his criticism are fully exhibited: What Gardthausen says is true that the geographical sections in Ammianus are elaborated after the

fashion of a schedule (schematisch); nay we may confidently add that it probably was the intention of the historian to insert in his work, at the proper places, a description of the entire inhabited world. But the 'schematic' geography which Gardthausen's hypothesis represents to have been the basis of Ammianus' work, never existed. Ammianus rather took for such a basis (so far as the Roman empire was concerned) the official lists of towns and districts, and, for foreign countries, he availed himself of the analogous lists of Ptolemy, adding from the historical work of Festus (which was arranged according to countries) the historical notices, and from the memorabilia of Pliny and of Solinus other points of curious interest. Moreover, he occasionally made use of Greek topographical descriptions in special sections. And it is to the influence of the source last named that the occasional abandonment by Ammianus himself of his own scheme is to be ascribed. Lastly, we find many statements of fact of special character which have been borrowed from others, as may be proved in the case of Caesar, Sallust, and Livy. While, therefore, the plan of his work gives evidence of reflexion and reading, Ammianus exhibits not only great carelessness in the execution, but also an attempt to cover up his lack of knowledge with empty words, and to parade before the reader at every point and on every subject an appearance of accurate information, which on careful scrutiny turns out to be nothing else than an audacious and inadequate cloak for his own ignorance. The vain endeavor to attain omniscience, as it is the curse of all encyclopedic culture, and as it pre-eminently was the curse of those unhappy generations who, even in the domain of intellectual effort, were making their beggarly haunt upon the ruins of a greater past, shows itself in Ammianus, not in this department alone. His other excursus on the oracles and other religious ideas of various sorts, on rainbows, comets, eclipses, intercalation, earthquakes, cultivation of palm trees, hieroglyphics, each darkens by its inadequacy what was dark enough before. And to all of this is to be added the ostentatious arrogance of the Greek, which led him to use, instead of his own tongue, the proud language of the court and empire, a language which he never was able to handle easily in spite of his close attention to phraseology. At the same time, Ammianus in his own proper sphere remains what he was to us, a man of sound principles, of liberal and elevated sentiments, having an insight into the human heart which, keen and yet tender, was better calculated to see through the baseness of courtiers than to identify himself in thought with the individuality of alien peoples. Still with all his faults and shortcomings he is by far the best historian of an epoch in general history which was indeed profoundly debased, but is notwithstanding of the greatest importance.

A corollary follows, viz. that it is desirable to have an edition of Ammianus in which the source of each geographical statement is noted, a work which properly should be done in a collection of Geographi Latini Minores. Thus wheat and chaff might be separated, for Mommsen says "The investigation which I have made in the present paper has shown to me in an alarming manner the misuse in geographical manuals of data furnished by Ammianus."

E. G. SIHLER.

# CORRESPONDENCE.

Sir: I have to thank your reviewer (L. R. P.) and yourself for a courteous and appreciative article in Vol. III, No. 9, pp. 89-91, of the American Journal of Philology. I only wish to say a few words on points of fact not on the various matters of opinion therein raised. As regards the charge of being "old fashioned," my first volume was published about 18 years ago, since which period the American Journal of Philology and many other new lights have arisen. I myself should probably treat very differently many points considered in Vol. I, now. In Vol. III I don't think I am open to the charge, at any rate as regards "locality" and "etymology." The geographical and topographical notices of the most recent Ithacan explorer, Dr. Schliemann, have been fully turned to account; and the etymological references to Curtius, Autenrieth, H. Düntzer, and Hentze, are, I think, numerous enough to vindicate me on the latter point. In regard to the "unity of the poem," my view is one which, as far as I know, had not been previously urged; that a poem composed in parts by a poet who recited them separately memoriter, could never have the objective unity of a written composition, and that no greater deviations from unity are to be found than are incident and probably inevitable under such conditions. The lines which "could easily be spared" are precisely those produced probably under the influence of the feeling of the moment for the portion recited; without due regard to the whole; if not a mere rhapsodist's addition.

As regards "no notice taken at the beginning of the fifteenth book of the awkward joining of the Telemachus story with the Odysseus story, or of the resulting hitch in the order of days," that will be found dealt with, I think, sufficiently at the end of the *fourteenth book*, and in an earlier note in Vol. I, on IV 594; see also on V 8-11.

If this letter is not too long for insertion in the Journal, I shall deem such insertion a privilege, and will thank you by anticipation for it.

I am, sir, your obedient servant,

HENRY HAYMAN, D. D.

ALDINGHAM, ULVERSTON, September 21, 1882.

Sir: In answer to Dr. Hayman's letter I have to admit that in regard to the "junction" at the beginning of the fifth book, my remark was, strictly speaking, incorrect. I must have overlooked the brief appendix (H 2), for which I desire to apologize. With regard to the rest I am afraid we should differ as to the application of the word "old-fashioned." I hold that Schliemann's plan of finding in Ithaka the exact local features just as described in the Odyssey is an old-fashioned plan, no matter when the book based on it is published. I hold that the method of etymologizing illustrated in the notes on  $\mu \acute{e}\nu$ ,  $\tau$  105,  $\dot{a}\pi\eta\nu\acute{\eta}\varsigma$ ,  $\tau$  329,  $\dot{e}\xi\acute{\eta}\varsigma$ ,  $\tau$  574 (examples from one book chosen at random), is of the same kind. Dr. Hayman's remark above, with reference to lines which "could easily be spared," illustrates what I mean in the sphere of "higher criticism."

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A prospectus has been received of the 'Internationale Zeitschrift für allgemeine Sprachwissenschaft,' to be edited by F. Techmer, of Leipzig, with the co-operation of many distinguished linguistic scholars, such as Ascoli, Bréal, Curtius, Ellis, v. der Gabelentz, Miklosisch, Friedrich Müller, Max Müller, Oppert, Pott, Sayce, Scheler, Steinthal, Storm. The American collaborators are Gatschet, March, and Trumbull. It is also understood that Professor Whitney's help has been secured. As will be seen by the names already mentioned, the different schools and tendencies of linguistic thought and research will be fully represented. The great divisions announced are the anthropological, embracing the physiology and the psychology of speech, and the historical, which will treat of the phylogenetic and ontological development of language. Messrs. B. Westermann & Co., New York, are the American publishers of this important and interesting addition to the existing organs of linguistics. It is to appear semi-annually. Subscription price 12 marks.

Advanced sheets of F. A. Brockhaus' Philological Catalogue have been received. Mr. Brockhaus, who is agent for the Journal in Germany, has issued the prospectus of a new edition of Du Cange's Glossarium Mediae et Infimae Latinitatis, edited by the French scholar L. Favre, to be published in 10 quarto volumes of about 600 pages each, to be issued in 100 fascicles. The price of each fascicle will be 300 francs, which will be reduced for the first five hundred subscribers to 200 francs, payment to be made upon the reception of each volume or each series of ten fascicles. Two volumes are to appear a year. The number of copies will be limited and the book will not be put to press until 250 subscriptions are received. Address F. A. Brockhaus, Leipzig. It is not necessary to emphasize the importance of this undertaking.

### ERRATUM.

No. 10, p. 228, line 14 from bottom, the reference should be Thuk. 5, 65. Thuk. 5, 7 is a future  $\dot{a}\pi\iota\dot{\epsilon}\nu a\iota$ . The editor desires to publish a table of errata at the end of the volume, and will be glad to have important errors pointed out.